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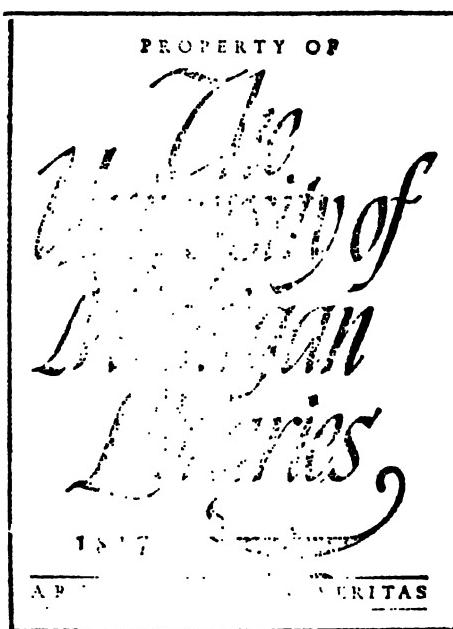
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*GLEANINGS
AFTER
TIME
CHAPTERS IN SOCIAL
AND DOMESTIC HISTORY*



G. L. APPERSON, J.S.O.



GLEANINGS AFTER TIME



FRONTISPICE.

See page 125.

GLEANINGS AFTER TIME

CHAPTERS IN
SOCIAL AND DOMESTIC HISTORY

G. L. APPERSON
EDITED BY
G. L. APPERSON, I.S.O.
AUTHOR OF
"AN IDLER'S CALENDAR," "BYGONE LONDON LIFE," ETC.

WITH TWENTY-NINE ILLUSTRATIONS

LONDON
ELLIOT STOCK, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.
1907

DA
110
A65

*Elliot Stock,
62, Paternoster Row, London, E.C*

INTRODUCTION

IN all magazines and periodical publications, amid much that is ephemeral and necessarily of but momentary interest, there are always articles which are of more or less permanent value. Yet, unless they are separately collected by their authors, such contributions are lost and buried for ever in the bound volumes of the magazine in which they appeared; and a set of magazine volumes is one of the least often disturbed of literary cemeteries.

If this be true of contributions to the ordinary run of magazines, it is still more true of articles in specialized and quasi-scientific periodicals. During the more than a quarter of a century of *The Antiquary's* existence a very large number of papers of much more than passing or "topical" interest have appeared in the pages of its forty odd volumes. A few of these have been collected by their writers, but the bulk of them—especially those in the earlier volumes of the magazine—are not now so easily accessible as they deserve to be. It has been thought well, therefore, to collect, chiefly from the earlier volumes of *The Antiquary*, some of these papers, which, on account of their interest or permanent value, deserve to be preserved in a convenient and handy form.

The importance of classification has been kept in view, and the present volume contains a selection of articles which may fairly be grouped under the heading of "Social History." Other volumes may follow under other headings.

The articles here reprinted are arranged in a roughly chronological order, and have been chosen primarily as

illustrating various phases of the social and domestic life of the past, a side of archæological study and research which has always possessed an immense fascination for the general reader of the outer circle as well as for the professed antiquary.

It is not the bald details of dates and succession of monarchs and dynasties, nor the records of battles and strife for unknown ends and long-forgotten causes, that make the discoveries of recent years in Assyria, and Crete, and Egypt of such entralling interest. It is the human element that thrills both the explorers and those who read the record, wondrous as an Arabian Night's tale, of their discoveries. The revelations of how men lived and worked, loved and sorrowed and died, of the tools they used, of the furniture of their homes and temples, the details of their lives and the surroundings of their deaths, the illustrations of their national and domestic joys and sorrows, fears and beliefs—all these are the things which make archæology a science of vital importance to all who take the slightest interest in the history and development of their kind.

And so, in selecting for re-publication some of the earlier contents of *The Antiquary*, regard has been had to the human and domestic side of old English social life. The task of selection has not been easy, for this side of archæological study has always been kept well to the front in the pages of the magazine, and material is consequently abundant; but it is hoped that a fairly representative selection has been made, and that these pictures of English and American life in the days gone by may not only please and instruct the reader, but may serve as a stimulant to further study of the domestic and social history of our forbears—a study of inexhaustible interest.

G. L. A.

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PROLOGUE

THE days decay as flower of grass,
The years as silent waters flow ;
All things that are depart, alas !
As leaves the winnowing breezes strow ;
And still while yet, full-orbed and slow,
New suns the old horizon climb,
Old Time must reap, as others sow :
We are the gleaners after Time !

We garner all the things that pass,
We harbour all the winds may blow ;
As misers we up-store, amass
All gifts the hurrying Fates bestow ;
Old chronicles of feast and show,
Old waifs of bygone rune and rhyme,
Old jests that made old banquets glow :—
We are the gleaners after Time !

We hoard old lore of lad and lass,
Old flowers that in old gardens grow,
Old records writ on tomb and brass,
Old spoils of arrow-head and bow,
Old wrecks of old worlds' overthrow,
Old relics of Earth's primal slime,
All drift that wanders to and fro :—
We are the gleaners after Time !

ENVoy.

Friends, that we know not and we know !
We pray you by this Christmas chime
Help us to save the things that go :
We are the gleaners after Time.

AUSTIN DOBSON.



I

A THIRTEENTH-CENTURY BOOK OF
ETIQUETTE

BY T. CAREW MARTIN.

IT is not a very large or important, but from certain points of view it is decidedly an interesting and often an amusing, branch of literature, which may be classed under the head of "Books of Etiquette." An impression will be found to exist, even among those who in any way have given a thought to the matter, that we are chiefly indebted for the creation of such manuals to the polite and artificial period of powder and patches, wigs and red heels, and, if not exactly to the very refined person of Lord Chesterfield, certainly to a century not dating further back than the days of that punctilious monarch "Louis Quatorze." It smacks therefore almost of some literary hoax to hear from a worthy monk of the thirteenth century the strikingly familiar, almost stereotyped, admonition that when dining with friends we are on no account to speak with our mouth full, or loll with our elbows on the table, or eat hurriedly, or—a point which by implication, it may be observed, would seem to carry with it at least some satisfaction as a proof of human progress—that we are not, openly at any rate, to pick our teeth with our fingers. There can, however, be no doubt of the authenticity of Fra Bonvesin's *Fifty Courtesies of the Table*, a thirteenth-century MS. which at present exists among the many treasures of the Ambrosian Library

2 A Thirteenth-Century Book of Etiquette

at Milan, where it has been examined by more than one distinguished expert.

Before approaching the purely social aspect of this interesting manuscript (a production in verse), the work, it should be mentioned, has so far only attracted the attention of the few philological specialists to whom it is known as one of the earliest creations of purely Italian literature. Hallam, in his *Literary History of the Middle Ages*, makes no reference to the work. Bruce-Whyte, in his *Study of the Romance Languages*, published (in French) some sixty years since, devotes a few paragraphs to the MS. He, however, in many points incorrectly interpreted the crabbed writing and strange orthography of Fra Bonvesin. More recently the MS., which to the Italians possesses, it can be understood, no small interest, has been examined and transcribed with minute care, and published at length by Biondelli in his *Studii linguistici*.* Known therefore only to a few specialists, and to our knowledge never as yet "Englished," as our old writers put it, there may be some interest in examining these fifty rhymed maxims or "courtesies" which, six hundred and seventeen years ago, Fra Bonvesin cautioned his readers to lay to heart when "dining out"; maxims, it will be found, worthy of quite as much attention in the present day as they were in those distant centuries to which the sweetness and light of modern culture, and its kindred refinement of social conduct, were as yet but imperfectly known.

The little we know of Fra Bonvesin of Riva shows him to have been a monkish schoolmaster with a marked turn for literature. To the students of early Italian literature, a local chronicle, as also a canticle

* See also Bartoli's *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*.

A Thirteenth-Century Book of Etiquette 3

to the Virgin, both penned by the pious monk, are known; but it is round his *De Quinquaginta Curialitatibus ad Mensam* that centres the chief interest connected with a writer who may be termed the Chesterfield of the thirteenth century. And here it may be remarked that quite as warmly as that worthy nobleman does the Milan monk impress on his readers the necessity of being refined and well-bred, as we see by his very first verse, in which one is admonished, before eating, to wash one's hands, and wash them gracefully :

Se tu sporzi acqua a la man
Adornamente la sporze, guarda no sij villan.

“Do not,” we are next told, “be in too great a hurry to take your seat at table before being invited; if you should find your place occupied, do not make any disturbance about the matter, but politely yield.” Once seated, one is above all warned not to neglect to say grace. “It is to the extreme gluttonous and vile, and showing great contempt of the Lord, to think of eating before having asked His blessing.” Grace said, one is enjoined to sit decently at table, not with the legs crossed, nor elbows on the board. “Do not,” one is next recommended, “fill your mouth too full; the glutton who fills his mouth will not be able to reply when spoken to.” One is further advised, when eating, to speak little, because in talking, one’s food is apt to drop, or be spluttered. “When thirsty, swallow your food before drinking.” “Do not dirty the cup in drinking; take it with both hands firmly, so as not to spill the wine. If not wishing to drink, and your neighbour has dirtied the cup, wipe it before passing it on.” The fourteenth “courtesy” is a shrewd one, to beware of taking too much wine, even if it be good, “for he offends trebly that does so: against his body and his soul, while the wine he consumes is wasted.”

4 A Thirteenth-Century Book of Etiquette

If anyone arrives during the meal one is advised not to rise, but continue eating. The sixteenth courtesy is noteworthy in its recommendation to those taking soup not to "swallow their spoons," while they are further admonished, if conscious of this bad habit, to correct themselves as soon as possible, as also of the breach of good manners in eating noisily. "If you should sneeze or cough, cover your mouth, and above all turn away from the table." Good manners, one is told, demands that one should partake, however little, of whatever is offered; if, that is, the *proviso* is made, one is in good health. Do not, one is urged, criticize the food, or say, "This is badly cooked, or too salt." Attend to your own plate, and not to that of others. Do not mix together on your plate all sorts of viands, meat and eggs; "it may," thoughtfully adds the writer, "disgust your neighbour." "Do not eat coarsely or vulgarly; and if you have to share your bread with anyone, cut it neatly if you do not wish to be ill-bred" (*bruto*). "Do not soak your bread in your wine," for, remarks Fra Bonvesin, for the first time, asserting his own personality, "if anyone should dine with me, and thus fish up his victuals, I should not like it." The twenty-fourth "courtesy" is a recommendation to avoid placing either one's knife or spoon between your own plate and that of your neighbour. If with ladies, one is told to carve first for them; "to them the men should do honour." "Always remember if a friend be dining with one, to help him to the choicest parts." "Do not, however, press your friend too warmly to eat or drink, but receive him well, and give him good cheer." "When dining with any great man, cease eating while he is drinking, and do not drink at the same time as he; when sitting next a bishop" (bishops being thus alone mentioned, we are led to suppose were, even at this early date, distinguished for their social affability),

"do not, however, drink till he drinks, nor rise till he rises. Let those who serve be clean, and," adds the careful monk, apparently foreshadowing Leech's comic sketch of the scented stable-boy waiting at table, "let the servants be free from any smell which might give a nausea to those eating." Capital advice is further given not to wipe the fingers on the table-cloth, a sentiment in which all thrifty housewives will concur. "Let the hands be clean, and above all do not at table scratch your head, nor indeed any portion of your body." "Do not, while eating, fondle dogs or cats or other pets; it is not right to touch animals with hands which touch the food." "When eating" (with *homini cognoscenti*, adds the writer), "do not pick your teeth with the fingers," Fra Bonvesin once again coming forward to express his personal disgust at this habit. "Do not," one is further admonished, "lick your fingers, which is very ugly and ill-bred, for fingers which are greasy are not clean, but dirty." The advice seems once again to be given not to speak with the mouth full, as one cannot under such circumstances do anything but stutter. "Do not trouble your neighbour with questions; if you require anything from him, wait till he has finished eating." "Do not," one is advised, "tell at table doleful tales, nor eat with a morose or melancholy air, but take care your words are cheery" (*confortare*). "When at table avoid wrangling and noisy disputes; but if anyone should transgress in this manner, pass it over till later—do not make a disturbance." "If you feel unwell at table, repress any expression of pain, and do not show suffering which would inconvenience those at table." "If you happen to see anything in the food which is disagreeable, do not refer to it; if it is a fly or other matter" (presumably included in this would come the familiar hair), "say nothing about it." "In handling your bowl or

6 A Thirteenth-Century Book of Etiquette

plate at table, place your thumb only on the edge." "Do not bring with you to table too many knives and spoons, there is a mean"—in other words Horace's *Est modus in rebus.** "If your bowl or plate is taken away to be re-filled, do not send up your spoon with it." This injunction, it will be seen, carries with it the (by some) hotly disputed question whether, in sending up one's plate for what is understood as "a second helping," the knife and fork should be retained in the hand, or accompany the plate. "To all these matters," adds the judicious writer, "pay attention." "In eating do not put too much upon your spoon at one time, for not only will you thus give much embarrassment to your stomach, but you will, by eating too quickly, offend those sitting near." "If your friend is with you at table, be cheerful and continue to eat while he eats, even if you should have had enough before he has finished; he might otherwise, out of shame, stop before his hunger was satisfied." Closely connected with this admirable piece of advice, applicable to all time, the succeeding admonition is not uninteresting as illustrative of the customs of a period before electroplate was to be found in every house, when each guest, it must be remembered, carried at his girdle his own serving-knife, an indispensable piece of finery, generally as highly decorated as the owner's taste and means could afford. "When eating with others," remarks Fra Bonvesin, who has now reached his forty-eighth "courtesy," "do not sheath your knife before every one else at table has done the same." The penultimate admonition is most fitting. "When you have eaten, praise Jesus Christ for receiving His blessing;

* In the past, it will be remembered, each guest was supposed to carry with him his own knife and spoon; forks, though known from a very early time, not being generally used till comparatively recently.

ungrateful indeed is he who neglects this duty." Fiftieth and last "courtesy," "Wash well your hands, and drink good wine."

Having thus rapidly glanced at the fifty well-meant recommendations of Fra Bonvesin, there remains one point to which attention should be drawn as not uninteresting. It is a feature worthy of remark that the writer's admonitions are clearly not addressed to what the theatrical Irishman is given to speaking of as "the height of the quality." Fra Bonvesin's *Courtesies* are not written for the knightly or patrician section of the society of his time, which had its own favourite songsters, its mediæval Praeds and Austin Dobsons, who reflected its own peculiar tastes and tendencies. On the other hand, it is clear that Fra Bonvesin does not address the vulgar herd, which at such a period especially could scarcely have profited much by his advice. The Lombard monk plainly addresses himself to that "middle-class" which we see slowly rising into separate life with the thirteenth century, and the end of the long dark period of mediæval strife and turmoil, with its society composed solely of Barons and Plebeians. Something of the refinement of the castle-hall was slowly influencing the *bourgeoisie*, which till now can scarcely be said to have been recognized, but which from this time is to commence a new and stirring period of social existence.

II

THE EARLIEST INDUSTRIAL CENSUS

By G. PHILLIPS BEVAN, F.G.S.

THE exigencies of continually increasing population have imposed upon all civilized countries the necessity of a fixed period for taking the census, commencing from the time when David first numbered the men of Israel and Judah. It is only of late years, however, that the rapid development of modern industrial life, with its ever-changing phases, and the momentum with which it forces its resistless way into all matters, political, commercial, and social, has made it incumbent upon the authorities to take a special industrial census, as a supplement to that of the general body of the people. England, France, Germany, and America, have long felt this necessity, and have acted upon it with different degrees of perfection and minuteness, the last two countries especially looking upon the matter as one of great importance. It is to France that we are indebted for having given us the first industrial census on record—viz., that of 1292, presented to us through the researches of M. Fagniez. Not only is this list interesting in an antiquarian point of view, but it throws much light upon the industrial condition of France (and, indeed, of all civilized countries) of that early period.

Paris then, as now, occupied a leading position in trade, and particularly in the manufacturing trades associated with handicraft. In the thirteenth century,

machinery did not enter much into the calculations of an artisan, and, if it did, was of such a rude kind, as scarcely to deserve the appellation ; and thus we have, in the census of operatives whose names were found in the lists prepared for taxation purposes, both in 1292, and, a few years later on, in 1300, an excellent sketch of the crafts which mostly prevailed in those days. Geraud, a writer who was interested in these subjects, estimated the number of artisans in Paris, exercising a special calling in 1292, at 4,159 : but the list of 1300 increased them to the amount of 5,844. In those eight years, the working population of a city like Paris would naturally have increased somewhat ; but we must not look too closely into any discrepancy of numbers, for even in these days, with the assistance of a large staff of practised experts, it is a most difficult thing to issue a correct census table.

The textiles and clothing trades figure pretty conspicuously in these early Paris lists of 1292 and 1300, which, for the purposes of this article, we may consider identical. They include cloth dressers (*afeteeurs de toiles*) and *ampolieeurs*, whom Geraud believed to be in some way connected with polishing, but who were really workmen who stretched the cloth upon the poles. There were also calenderers; women hecklers of flax and hemp (*cerenceresses*) ; felt dressers, and spinners, the material of whose work is not specified, though subsequently two spinners of wool and thirty-six of silk are mentioned ; teazlers of cloth, both men and women, whose duty it was to raise the pile ; bobbin makers ; carders (*pigneresses*) of textile materials ; cloth shearers (*retondeeurs*), so as to give it the desired gloss ; yarn twisters, who probably acted the parts of our doubling and roving machines, so as to furnish the proper tenacity for the weaving operations ; silk winders ; linen weavers (*teliers* or *toiliers*) ; cloth fullers, and one velvet maker.

10 The Earliest Industrial Census

The textile dyers included thirty-three general dyers, three of silk ; one maker of azure blue ; and one of a peculiar colour called *fueil*, thus alluded to in an old gild charter : “ L'en ne pourra faire draps tains (teints) en moulée en *fueil* ne on fostet.” Although, of course, this list of textile workers does not embrace those living in the country (and, doubtless, a great deal of the wool, flax, and silk, was prepared there, cotton being unknown in those days), it furnishes a curious contrast with the vast array of operatives and mill-hands which now find occupation in France under this head. Of all the textile employés in Paris, the spinners were the most important, there having been no less than four distinct gilds or corporations—viz., the female spinners of wool, with whom were united the women carders ; the hemp and flax spinners ; the silk spinners, who spun with large spindles, and those who used smaller ones. It seems curious why there should have been two distinct sets of workers in the latter category : but the fact was, that the first of these two (*fillaresses a grand fusereaux*) undertook also the operations of reeling, spinning, doubling, and roving, and were presumably a more important and responsible body of workwomen. The raw material, however, being very valuable, the *fillaresses* could not always resist the temptation of selling it, when it was delivered to them by the merchants ; and heavy penalties were enacted against any who bought silk from other than the proper merchants, and also against the spinners who sold it or pledged it, whilst in their possession : “ Que aucun ou aucune ne soit si hardis d'aller acheter soye et de changer soye por soye en maison de personne ne a personne qui file soye.”

There was a greater variety of trades and handicrafts in articles of dress, for even in those early days the name of Paris was synonymous with *luxe*, fashion, and all that was excellent taste. The list of 1300 includes

two makers of *aiguillettes*, by which we understand shoulder-knots or tags; but the *Old Red Book of Chatelet*, a hundred years later, increases this number to twenty-six—a remarkable rise in a detail of costume, which must have been so limited. A like discrepancy is shown in the makers of *aumoniers*, or ecclesiastical charity-bags, who are put down as 3 in the census of 1300, but of whom 124 are mentioned as plying their trades at the end of the century. Embroiderers, in like manner, mounted up from 23 to 129 in 1319. The hatters, or head-dress makers, were rather numerous, and included felt hatters, pearl head-dress makers and *chapeliers de soie*, who wove the silk veils known as *couver-chefs* (kerchiefs?). There were three other corporations engaged in working head-dresses, not mentioned in the census of 1300—viz., in flowers, peacock feathers, and sea-birds' feathers. Besides these, there were hood-makers, *chauciers*, or sock-makers, *coute-pointiers*, or makers of coverlets, and *crepinières*, who appear to have been workers in a kind of trimming. Quicherat, in his *History of Costume*, tells us that the crepinières made a sort of head-dress in silk and thread, while other branches of this trade furnished fringes for pillow-cases and the decorations of altars. The ribbon makers (*dorelotiers*), the cloth-sellers, and the mercers, furnished a strong contingent to the commercial ranks, and their articles of shopkeeping contributed one of the greatest attractions to the visitors to Paris, who, then as now, came from all quarters of the globe.

Et reviennent de toz pais
Les bons marcheans a Paris
Por la mercerie achater.

Jean Jandun, who wrote the *Eloge de Paris*, in 1323, gives a most graphic description of the display of goods in the shape of clothes, fans, silks and stuffs, which

were exposed for sale on the ground floor of the shops, while the story above was devoted to the lighter object *dé luxe*, such as toilet details, ivory pins, head-gear, girdles, gloves, etc. That the trade was a lucrative one, is evident from the fact, that the heaviest assessment was made on this class of shop, varying from 30 to 150 livres. It is worth while noticing, that though makers of woollen, silk, and lace goods were somewhat numerous, those of linen were very few, only eight in number, which seems to imply that the linen trade was comparatively little known in those days, and that the material was not much used. Allusion has already been made to the hatters; but we must not omit to mention the *morteliers* (from whom perhaps our slang university term of "mortar-boards" has been derived), a rather powerful and important craft, who gave their name to the Rue de Mortellerie. There were also no less than five makers of hats from peacocks' feathers. The furriers, of whom there were 350, formed one of the most powerful trades-gilds of the time; and we also find that the old-clothesmen flourished at that period, under the significant title of *rafreschisseurs*, or renovators of old garments. Tailors, who numbered 160, occupied an important position in the clothing trades, although the profession was very much divided into specialities, there being, besides tailors proper, corporations of doublet makers, braces makers, shoulder-knot makers, etc. The tailors were at that time under several peculiar rules and laws. The customer always found the cloth, and the tailor's province was merely to cut the garment; and if he did not do this properly, he was liable to a fine from his gild and the cost of the damage done to the cloth. A paper pattern was first of all taken of the intended suit, and this pattern was kept by the corporation as evidence in case of any complaint, either of misfit, or of not using up all the cloth,

which was considered a point of great heinousness. This, however, was not limited to France, for we find the same custom prevalent also in England in early days, as shown by the following :

Memorandum : That John Rowter received *iiii* yerdes of brod cloth blew to make Master Robert Rydon a gownne, upoun the wheeche, the sayde Master Robert complayned of lacking of his clothe. And ther wasse dewly proved *iii* quarteris of brod clothe convayed in pieces, as hit apereth by patrons of blacke paper in our comen kofer of record, at any tyme redy to shew.

In royal establishments, and great houses generally, the tailor was a regular servant, receiving wages and wearing a livery ; and indeed, in the King's palace was a complete tailor's shop, just as the ladies of the households kept their dressmakers and seamstresses. Notwithstanding the rather strict division of labour amongst the different branches of the trade, there was always an attempt being made by the tailors to extend their *métier* into these branches, and in the case of the doublet makers, or *pourpointiers*, this encroachment was successful in 1358, up to which time the latter had a monopoly. But the fact was, that the wearing of doublets became so universal that the pourpointiers could not supply them fast enough, and the Provost of Paris therefore gave judgment to the effect that there was work enough for the two corporations, and that the tailors might henceforth make them as well as the *doubletiens*. The only difficulty was, that the tailors were obliged to make them to measure, while the others were allowed to sell them ready made. The *braaliers* were makers of braces (*braceæ, femoralia*), a light pair of drawers kept over the hips by a shoulder-strap (*braal*), presently to become the modern braces. Six of them are mentioned as plying their trade, in the census

table. Associated with the cloth trade was the important gild of dyers, who numbered thirty-six, and who were under very strict regulations respecting the dyes which they used. The dyeing materials then in vogue were the woad (*Isatis tinctoria*), cochineal, madder, dyer's weed (*Reseda luteola*), brazil and indigo. A dye-stuff named *moulée*, made of elder-bark, iron filings, and cutlery dust, was considered too corrosive, and was forbidden to be employed, though the colour that it yielded, made it in favour with purchasers, if they could use it without getting into trouble. Richard le Maçon was summoned for having a cloth dyed in *moulée*, but was let off on pleading that he had it for his own use and not for sale. Two dyers were prosecuted for having dyed fourteen pieces of cloth in *moulée*, and they called as their witness, Peter Waropel, the treasurer of the Duke of Burgundy, to prove that it was done by his orders. There was only one corporation of dyers in Paris who dyed wool and cloth, but they never meddled with silk, the dyeing of which was carried on by the mercers. But there was always a kind of feud going on between the dyers and the cloth weavers, the latter of whom asserted that they possessed the right of dyeing in woad, although this office was limited to two of their number; and when one of these two died, the Provost of Paris appointed his successor out of the same body. The dyers, on their part, denied this right, and spoke of it as a kind of pluralism which was inconsistent. Finding, however, that the cloth-weaving fraternity was too strong for them, they tried to get the weaving corporation thrown open to dyers, arguing that as the weavers were allowed to practise both trades, they (the dyers) should have the same privileges. Much ill-feeling was caused by this undefined limitation of trade practices, and in 1277 the dyers' gild brought an action against a weaver

named Michael Horret, because he also exercised the trade of dyeing; and it demanded that, according to one of the gild rules, he should select which of the two occupations he preferred, and confine himself to it. He then chose that of dyeing, whereupon an objection was brought forward that he had not served the regular dyer's apprenticeship of three years. His answer was that he had learnt to dye under his father, who was an expert in this branch; and upon an appeal to the Parliament, a verdict was given in his favour. In the end, however, there were such constant disputes and law proceedings, that Philip the Bold had the whole question inquired into, and ordered that the two corporations should in future confine themselves each to its own *métier*, as was the custom at other great manufacturing centres, such as Rouen, Bruges, Mechlin, Ghent, and Brussels. Before quitting the subject of early textile industries, it will be interesting to give a list of the trades involved, and the numbers who were employed.

Trade.	English Title.	Census of 1292.	Census of 1301.
Afeteeurs de toiles	Linen dressers	1	
Aiguillettes, fabricants	Makers of shoulder-knots		2*
Aumonières	Makers of alms-bags		3
Azur, fabricants	Dyers (azure blue)	1	
Boutonniers	Button and thimble makers	16	13
Braaliers	Brace makers	6	2
Bresil, batteurs	Brazil crushers (dyeing)		1
Brodeeurs	Embroiderers	14	23
Calendreeurs	Stuff calenderers	2	6
Cerencesses	Flax and hemp hecklers (fem.)		3
Chapeliers	Hatters	47	39

* In 1397 these had increased to 26.

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Trade.	English Title.	Census of 1292.	Census of 1301.
Ch. de perles	Hatters who covered the hat with pearls	2	
Ch. de soie*	Kerchief makers	3	
Ch. de feutre	Felt hat makers	7	10
Chaperonieres	Hood makers	6	6
Chasubliers	Chasuble makers	5	4
Chauciers	Shoe makers	61	48
Coquillieres	Makers of head-dresses, adorned with shells	3	
Coutepointiers	Coverlet makers	8	18
Couturiers	Cutters (clothes)	103	152
Couturiers de gants	Glove cutters	1	
Crépinières	Head-dress makers in embroidery and silk	32	29
Déeliers	Thimble makers	1	
Dorelotiers	Ribbon makers	14	12
Drapiers	Cloth merchants	19	56
Ferpiers or Fri- piers	Old-clothesmen	121	163
Feutriers	Felt makers	10	6
Filandriers	Spinners	5	8
Fileresses de soie	Silk spinners	8	36
Foulons	Fullers	24	83†
Fueil, faiseurs de	Makers of the dye of that name		1
Gantiers	Glove makers	21	40
Laceeurs	Fringe makers		1
Laneeurs	Cloth teazlers	2	5
Laniers	Wool merchants		16
Laveeours de robes	Dress cleaners		1
Lingiers	Linen merchants	3	8
Merciers	Mercers	70	129

* These were the "couvre-chefs," worn as veils.

† This corporation must have very largely increased afterwards, for it is stated that in the procession before Philip the Bold, when he translated the bones of St. Louis, over 300 fullers took part.

The Earliest Industrial Census 17

Trade.	English Title.	Census of 1292.	Census of 1301.
Morteliers	Cap ("mortar-board") makers	8	6
Navettiers	Shuttle makers	4	1
Orfroisiers	Lace stripe makers		1
Paonniers	Peacock hat makers		1
Patrenôtriers	Makers of paternosters*	14	14
Peletiers	Furriers	214	342
Pelliers	Pearl merchants	6	6
Pigneresses	Carders of textiles	3	2
Rafreschisseurs	Clothes restorers		3
Retondeeurs	Cloth-pile cutters	9	2
Soie (femmes qui carient)	Silk-yarn winders		2
Soie (femmes qui devident)	Silk-yarn winders		1
Soie, ouvrières de	Silk workers		40
Tailleurs	Tailors	124	160
Tailleurs de robes	Robe makers	15	27
Tapissiers	Carpet makers	24	29
Teinturiers	Dyers	15	33
Teinturiers de robes	Robe dyers	2	
Teliers	Linen weavers	11	1
Tiretainiers	Linsey-wolsey makers	4	
Tisserandes	Weavers generally	82	360
Tondeurs	Cloth clippers	20	36
Velvet, faiseurs	Velvet makers	1	

* That is, chaplets of coral and shells for telling one's beads.

III

THE OLD TABARD INN

By W. C. MILLER.

IN an alley, leading out of the High Street, Southwark, there stood, until about 1881, an old historic building which, by every lover of English literature, should have been regarded with a reverence second only to that in which is held the house at Stratford-on-Avon where Shakespeare was born ; for it was that old Tabard Inn at which Chaucer's Pilgrims assembled before setting out on their journey to the shrine of Thomas-à-Becket at Canterbury.

There are few streets in London which can lay claim to higher antiquity than the one in which this ancient hostellerie was situated. From the time of the Roman occupation of Britain until a recent period—when the introduction of railways diverted the course of travel—it was the great highway from the Metropolis to the ports on the southern coast. For several centuries High Street and Kent Street were the route adopted by kings of England when leaving the capital for the Kentish ports to take shipping for their possessions in France ; and it was through these streets that Henry V. made his triumphal entry into London, after the battle of Agincourt.

The High Street was early famous for its inns ; and, after the canonization of Thomas-à-Becket, the crowds that thronged to his shrine—the most popular in England—tended still further to create a demand for

houses of entertainment in the vicinity of the only bridge by which the river was then crossed. Stow, writing some two centuries later (in 1598), says, "In Southwark be many fair inns for receipt of travellers;" and he adds, "amongst the which, the most eminent is 'The Tabard,' so called of the sign, which, as we now term it, is of a jacket or sleeveless coat, whole before, open at both sides, with a square collar, winged



THE OLD TABARD INN.

at the shoulders: a stately garment; of old time commonly worn of noblemen and others, both at home and abroad in the wars; but then (to wit in the wars) their arms embroidered or otherwise depict upon them, that every man by his coat of arms might be known from others. But now these Tabards are only worn by the Heralds, and be called their coats of arms in service."

High Street is even now full of quaint old inns, situated in quiet alleys, leading out of the main

thoroughfare; and it is not many years ago that one of the most ancient of these, the White Hart—introduced by Shakespeare in *King Henry VI.*, and famous in our own time as the place where Mr. Pickwick first met the immortal Sam Weller—was pulled down, warehouses being erected on its site, a fate which the Tabard was later destined to meet.

The entrance to the yard, at the bottom of which the Tabard stood, was through an old, dilapidated gateway, immediately opposite a block of buildings called “The Town Hall Chambers,” erected in 1861, on the site of the former Town Hall of the Borough. The “Talbot Inn” was painted over the alley-way, and, some sixty years ago, the following inscription was still legible on the wall: “This is the Inne where Sir Jeffry Chaucer and the nine and twenty Pilgrims lay in their journey to Canterbury, anno 1383.”

This inscription had originally been on the frieze of a beam laid crosswise upon two uprights, supporting a swinging sign of the inn, in the High Street, in the front of the Tabard. But, in 1766, this sign and its supports were taken down, in conformity with an Act of Parliament, by virtue of which various obstructions existing in the thoroughfares of London were removed. The writing of this inscription was not—as is evident from the spelling—of old date: but it had, probably, been renewed from time to time from a very early period, and the orthography more or less modernized on each occasion: indeed, a writer of the Elizabethan age speaks of the inscription as having been in existence long before his day. The date, also, 1383, is precisely that which best agrees with the incidents of the *Canterbury Tales* and the known period of their composition, the latest historical event mentioned in them being Jack Straw’s insurrection, which occurred in 1381. The tradition, therefore, that Chaucer was himself—as

he has hinted in the poem—one of the pilgrims, is most likely well founded.

From the gateway, already referred to, the Abbey—which gradually widened until it ended in a large courtyard—was open to the sky. On either side of it there was a range of brick buildings, extending from the High Street, some 50 feet down the yard; the range on the left was joined, and continued, by one wing of the Tabard, which—as will be seen by the sketch given of the building—formed a right angle with the main edifice, which was directly opposite the entrance from the High Street.

The inn was built partly of brick and partly of wood, but principally of the latter. The wooden gallery, which extended the whole length of the building, was supported by thick, round pillars, also of wood, and above, on other pillars of slenderer make, rested the front of the high, sloping roof. In the centre of the gallery was a picture—said to have been painted by Blake—which was, from long exposure to the elements and ill-usage, in so dirty and decayed a condition that the subject was barely discernible.

The building on the right-hand side of the alley was occupied as a tavern, as two signs, “The Tabard” and “The Talbot,” indicated. It forms, however, no portion of the original structure, having been built in the time of Charles II., after the great fire in Southwark, to which more particular reference will presently be made. It was after this fire, in fact, that the name of the original inn was altered from “The Tabard” to “Talbot,” by a dependent of the then Earl of Shrewsbury, into whose possession the property passed at this time. But the old name was subsequently restored; and the building was thereafter designated, indifferently, by either.

The Tabard, after having been an inn for upwards of

four centuries and a half, ceased to be one, having, some time before 1860, passed into the occupation of the Midland Railway Company, which made use of it as a receiving-house for heavy goods : the brewers' signs, however, remained to indicate its former character.

On entering the building, the low doorway, winding passages, broken ceilings, and heavy projecting chimney-arches, at once struck the eye. Several of the rooms, however, on the lower story had been thrown into one ; and the entire floor was covered with large packages and bales of merchandise. This portion of the building had, indeed, lost many of the distinctive features of the old inn ; but the upper stories had not been altered to any great extent since the property had been in the hands of the Midland Company.

After the building ceased to be an inn, it became more difficult to obtain admission to the upper portion of it than had formerly been the case. However, a few years ago the writer was permitted to examine the apartment known as the *Pilgrims' Room*.

Crossing the central part of the yard to the lower gallery, a narrow flight of stairs—lighted by a small latticed window on the landing—led to various passages affording access to several rooms, which had formerly been the dormitories of the inn. In the centre of the upper gallery was a door opening into a lofty passage, with a room on each side ; that on the right was the *Pilgrims' Room* of tradition. Even so late as the early part of the nineteenth century there was a large panel above the square chimney-piece, on which was some ancient needlework or tapestry, representing a procession to Canterbury ; but it was subsequently removed.

The size of the room did not accord with the idea of the hall of the ancient Tabard, which a reader of the *Canterbury Tales* would naturally have formed from the description of it given in the poem. This is, however,

to be accounted for by the fact that the apartment had been cruelly shorn of its fair dimensions since the time of Chaucer. Mr. Saunders, who visited the Tabard about 1847, made a careful examination of the whole building, and he discovered that two rooms had, at different periods, been partitioned off from the hall. Mr. Saunders, in his essay on Chaucer, speaking of the *Pilgrims' Room*, says :

The depth from wall to window was satisfactory, so was the height ; the latticed window itself was large, and antique in its expression, notwithstanding the alterations it had certainly experienced ; but the *length* of the room—so much less than the depth—appeared, to say the least of it, extraordinary. We went into the chamber on the other side of the passage, which, with a similar window, of the same depth and height, was still shorter ; but that the landlord of the inn explained—he had cut off a room beyond. We went into this, and there found a fireplace and panel corresponding exactly to those in the *Pilgrims' Room*. Could the whole three chambers have originally formed one apartment ? There was, undoubtedly, a great difficulty in the way ; the intervening door, passage, and staircase, with a portion of the ancient balustrade, still apparently remaining. We could not, however, avoid expressing our belief that such must have been the case. Scarcely had the words passed our lips, than the host called out : “ You are right ! Where the door now is, there has been a third window.” True enough, there were undeniable evidences of a middle window, half of its outlines visible in the wall, agreeing in height and dimensions with those on either side, and the remainder cut away by the door. Were further proof wanting, it exists in the staircase itself, the marks of the original ceiling, which crossed the space it occupies, being still visible. The whole three rooms had then clearly been originally one, measuring some 45 ft. in length, 12 ft. in height, and about 20 in breadth. Thus doubtless it was when newly repaired by Master I. Preston in the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth—the period to which the more modern features of the room—the fireplace

and panels—may be ascribed. Here then is a place worthy of the tradition, which, too, is in no slight degree confirmed by the circumstances narrated.

I may add that, after a careful examination of both the exterior and the interior of the building, I am disposed fully to agree with the opinion expressed by Mr. Saunders in another part of the essay, that there can scarcely be a reasonable doubt but that the inn was erected as early as the reign of Henry IV. It has, indeed, been asserted that no portion of the building existing in our own day was as old as the fourteenth century ; and it is indisputable that *part* of the original structure was destroyed by the great fire in Southwark in the time of Charles II. On the occasion of this conflagration—which occurred in 1676, ten years after the Great Fire of London—upwards of six hundred houses fell a prey to the devouring element. Amongst them was the Town Hall, which stood immediately opposite the Tabard; and the flames crossing the narrow street at this spot, the *exterior* buildings of the inn were burnt down. It is, however, an error to assume—as some writers have done—that the place was then *totally* destroyed. The mistake has arisen, in fact, in great measure from ignorance of the character of the structure. The Tabard was originally a large straggling building, or rather group of buildings, occupying three sides of an irregular spot of ground. It was not even covered by one roof, the different houses being connected by means of bridges, which rendered it practicable to pass from the external gallery of one building to that of another. One of these bridges—arched, and balustraded in the same style as the galleries—was still standing so recently as 1830, in one part of the yard. Evidence, too, of the existence, at one period, of another bridge, was to be seen in the blackened ends of a row of joists inserted

in the wall of the main building, by which it had once been supported.

That the old house over the gateway, and the buildings extending laterally from it, were burnt down in the fire referred to above, must be admitted, the brickwork of these structures being undoubtedly of the seventeenth century. But there is no proof that the *interior* portion of the inn likewise fell a prey to the flames on this occasion. It stood apart from the other houses, and the bridges of communication could easily have been broken down. That the fire, too, did not rage with any very great fury after it had crossed the street may be inferred from the circumstance that it did not extend so far as the White Hart.

Again, the whole of the architecture of the house at the bottom of the yard was, obviously, of a much earlier period than the seventeenth century. The external galleries, for instance, did not indisputably belong to the time of Charles II.; nor, it may be added, did the rooms which opened on the gallery on the upper story, nor the passages and corridors, nor the quaint old attics, nor, indeed, any features of the place.

Speght, a contemporary of Stow, speaks of the inn as the one from which Chaucer and the pilgrims started for Canterbury, and he adds, that having become "much decayed through the effect of time, it had been recently 'repaired' by 'Master I. Preston,' with the *addition* of new rooms for the reception of guests." It is obvious from the language used by Speght that the Tabard was, on the occasion alluded to, only renovated and enlarged, and that a portion of the Chaucerian hostelry survived the alterations and repairs. It is, therefore, most certain that that portion remained to our time; since it has been pretty conclusively shown by Mr. Saunders that the house at the bottom of the yard was spared by the fire of 1676.

On visiting the *Pilgrims' Room* one peopled it, in imagination, with that "goodlie companie," so admirably described by Chaucer—the Knight and his Squire; the Prioress; the Monk; the wife of Bath; the Franklin; and other of the pilgrims; not forgetting Harry Bailly, the host, whose good-nature and homely mother-wit must ever render him a special favourite with the reader of the *Tales*. The poet says:

A seemly man our hoste was withal
For to have been a marshall in a hall,
A largè man he was, with eyen steep,
A fairer burgess is there none in Cheep:
Bold of his speech, and wise and well taught,
And of manhood him lacked right nought.
Eke thereto was he right a merrie man.

And then the Shipman! How well has the poet delineated a character with which, reasoning *à priori*, one would suppose he could have had but little in common; for Chaucer was essentially an "inland man." And yet, his large humanity—second only to that of Shakespeare—has enabled him to limn the portrait of the mariner of the period—half-trader, half-buccaneer—with a cunning hand. Indeed, there is not one of the various personages who figure in the *Canterbury Tales* who is not an admirable type of the class it represents.

The quaint old inn was destined, after being in existence for five centuries, to give way to the devastating progress of modern change. The Tabard, some twenty-six years ago, was pulled down, and a range of warehouses erected upon its site.

Thus, this most interesting memorial of the earliest work of genius in the English language, instead of being preserved with reverential care—notwithstanding the protests of scholars and archæologists alike—was permitted by the nation to pass away without any public effort being made to avert its demolition.

IV

THE POLITENESS OF OUR FOREFATHERS

"Tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur in illis."

By WALTER HAMILTON, F.R.HIST.S.

NOT long since, whilst turning over the dusty contents of a box of books labelled ALL AT 6D., my attention was drawn to a rusty little 12mo., bound in well-worn sheep-skin. A short examination showed it was complete, and for the small sum of sixpence I became the possessor of a literary treasure, which has since afforded me much gratification and amusement. This shabby little booklet of 178 pages, bearing on its bastard title the mystic words,

LICENSED

Aug 26
1671 } Roger L'Estrange,

carries the mind back more completely into the past than many books of greater antiquarian importance, not indeed into any remote antiquity, but to a time of which the majority of people know little and think less ; that age when our ancestors were commencing the study of home life, the arts of civilization, and breaking away from the coarseness and brutality of the Middle Ages, were gradually adopting tea, coffee, and tobacco, and learning the convenience of night-gowns, newspapers, umbrellas, forks, and stockings. Those worthy people who are constantly regretting the "good

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old times " are generally somewhat ignorant of the discomforts of that mystic period ; a little study in the print-room of the British Museum would somewhat tone down their enthusiasm, without any reference being necessary to the advantages which moderns possess in the shape of lucifer matches, gas, penny postage, railways, cheap books, and steel pens. The gay cavaliers of the Stuart period were very brilliant to gaze upon, especially in paintings, but what was their home life like ? Those who have seen Van der Helst's masterpiece in the Amsterdam Gallery will remember the jovial scene of the banquet of the officers of the Guard after the Peace of Munster in 1648—the group of thirty handsome gentlemen, in the tasteful costume of the period, seated round the festive board, busy with their long clasp knives, and not a fork to be seen ; indeed, the most prominent member of the party boldly faces you with a knuckle of ham in his fist, from which he is cutting his meal with the same careless ease we see a modern "navvy" affect, when, sitting on his mound by the roadside, he takes his midday bread and cold boiled bacon.

The Rules of Civility ; or, Certain Ways of Deportment observed in France, amongst all Persons of Quality, upon Several Occasions. Translated out of French. LONDON, Printed for J. Martyn at the Bell in St. Paul's Church-yard, and John Starkey at the Mitre in Fleet Street, near Temple Bar. MDCLXXV.

Such is the title of the work which has brought up this train of ideas, and its perusal goes far to convince me that our ancestors were not to be envied. If it may be taken as an index to their manners and customs, it tends to show that they had no manners to boast of, and that their customs were very disagreeable ; by a

simple line of reasoning one can easily discover what they were accustomed to do by what they are instructed to avoid, and can guess their vices from the pains taken to persuade them to adopt certain virtues.

But it would be no easie matter to prescribe Rules of Civility so exact, as that they should comply with all times, persons and places in the world, seeing nothing is more obvious than variety of Customs, and that what is decent in one Nation is undecent in another; what is useful, and perhaps profitable in one Age, declines, and grows contemptible in the next; in short, nothing is so intrinsically decorous, but the experience or caprice of Mankind alters, or explodes it.

Nowhere could a better illustration of this paragraph, taken from the book, be found than in the book itself, for although professedly written for persons of quality, and teeming with instructions to the nobility, and even royalty itself, it alludes to such topics, and in such plain language, as would now be quite impossible, and fortunately is as unnecessary as impossible. Its twenty chapters contain instructions as to general politeness, conversation in company, deportment towards great Persons (always with a capital P), behaviour in church, at the table, at play, in riding and driving, and the writing of letters, together with a few concluding remarks "against such as are over-scrupulous."

The first point that strikes one is the extreme deference, the abject humility, that is inculcated as being necessary to be observed towards the Person or Persons of Quality with whom you associate; the next is the necessity the author appears to have felt to impress strongly upon his most noble and gentle readers ("this work," he says, "cannot have relation to any but the *Gentry*"), that obscene and profane language should

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not be used before ladies, and that even swearing is somewhat reprehensible.

His entrance into the great Person's house ; his observations at the door in the ante-chamber and elsewhere.

To begin with the door of a Prince, or Great Person, it is uncivil to knock hard, or to give more than one knock.

At the door of his Bed-chamber or closet, to knock, is no less than brutish ; the way is to scratch only with their nails. When he comes into a great man's house or chamber, it is not civil to wrap himself up in his cloak ; but in the King's Court he runs great hazard of correction.

Presuming that our friend has entered the great man's room (without correction, let us hope), he is next instructed in the art of conversation :

• Chap. v. Regulates his Conversation in Company.

I think it scarce necessary to set down the documents which is given every day to Children ; as whenever they answer yes, or no, to give always the Titles of Sir, Madam, or my Lord, as they are due ; it is handsome also when one is to contradict any person of quality, and to answer in the negative, it is not to be done bluntly with a *No, Sir, that is not so*, but by circumlocution, as *Pardon me, Sir, I beg your pardon, Madam, if I presume to say, fisking and pratling are but ill ways to please.*

This quaintly-worded paragraph is succeeded by one having what Pepys would have called a mighty fine conceit of dry humour :

It is obvious too, that it is but a Rustick and Clownish kind of wit to put *Sir*, or *Madam* after any word, so as to render his meaning ambiguous, as to say, *this Book is bound in Calf, Sir ; this is a fine Mare, Madam* ; or—he is mounted upon an ass, my *Lord*.

The remaining instructions as to conversation possess

no great interest ; they may be briefly summed up thus :

If you your lips would keep from slips,
Five things observe with care ;
Of whom you speak, to whom you speak,
And how, and when, and where.

and the chapter concludes with some advice on the topic of "Button-holing," which may be of service even in the present century.

But being in discourse with a man, 'tis no less than ridiculous to pull him by the Buttons, to play with the Band-strings, Belt or Cloak; or to punch him now and then on the Stomach ; 'tis a pleasant sight, and well worthy of laughter, to see him that is so puncth, fall back, and retire ; whilst the other insensible of his absurdity, pursues and presses him into some corner, where he is at last glad to cry quarter, before his comrade perceives he is in danger.

It argues neglect, and to under value a man, to sleep when he is discoursing or reading ; therefore good Manners command it to be forbid ; besides, something there may happen in the act that may offend, as snoaring, sweating, gaping, or dribbling.

To keepe your hands in your Pockets is like a Lowte.

We are next to suppose that dinner has been announced, and we have

Observations at the Table. If it so happens that the person of Quality detains you to dine with him, it is uncivil to wash with him unless you be commanded expressly. Grace being said, he is to stand still till he be placed, or dispose himself at the lower end of the Table. When he is set, he must keep himself uncovered till the rest sit down, and the person of quality has put on his Hat.

Several other paragraphs make it quite clear that hats were worn at table, it being held a mark of inferiority to remain uncovered, and even in church hats were worn without any idea of irreverence.

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Of the instructions given for behaviour at table the following are the most curious of those that are fit for general perusal :

In eating observe to let your hands be clean ; feed not with both your hands, nor keep your knife in your hand ; dip not your fingers in the sauce, nor lick when you have done, wipe your mouth, and keep your spoon clean. Gnaw not bones, nor handle Dogs, nor spawl upon the floor ; and if you have occasion to sneez or cough, take your Hat, or put your Napkin before your face.

Drink not with your mouth full nor unwiped, nor so long till you are forced to breathe in the Glass.

He must have a care his hand be not first in the Dish, unless he be desired to help his neighbours.

If you be carv'd, 'tis but civil to accept whatever is offered, pulling off your Hat still when it is done by a superior.

To give anything from your own Plate to another to eat of, though he be an inferiour, savours of arrogance, much less an Apple or a Pear that hath been bit by you before. Have a care likewise of blowing froth from off a Cup, or any dust from roasted Apple or a Toast ; for the Proverb saith, *There is no wind but there is some rain.*

We are to wipe our spoon every time we put it into the dish ; some people being so delicate, they will not eat after a man has eat with his Spoon and not wiped it.

'Tis rude to drink to a Lady of your own, much more of greater quality, than your self, with your Hat on ; and to be cover'd when she is drinking to you. When Dinner is going up to any Nobleman's table, where you are a stranger, or of inferiour quality, 'tis civil and good manners to be uncover'd.

If it so happens that you be alone together with a person of Quality, and the Candle be to be snuffed, you must do it with the Snuffers, not your fingers, and that neatly and quick, lest the person of Honour be offended with the smell.

The instructions given to ladies contain frequent

references to the masks they wore—a custom which enabled them to visit the theatres to witness the wickedly witty comedies of the Restoration period. What other and better ends they served the muse of history telleth not.

As to the Ladies, it is convenient for them to know that, besides the Punctilio of their Courtesies, there is the Ceremony of the Mask, the Hoods, and the Trains; for it is no less than rudeness in a woman to enter into any ones Chamber, to whom she owes any respect, with her Gown tucked up, with her Mask upon her face, or a Hood about her head, unless it be thin and perspicuous.

It is not civil to have their Masks on before persons of honour, in any place where they may be seen; unless they be in the same Coach together at the same time.

It is uncivil to keep their Masks on when they are saluting any one, unless it be at a good distance: But even in that case they pull it off before any person of the blood.

If a person of Quality be in the Company of Ladies, 'tis too juvenile and light to play with them, to toss or tumble them; to kiss them by surprise, to force away their Hoods, their Fans, or their Ruffs. It is unhandsome among Ladies, or any other serious Company, to throw off ones Cloak, to pull off ones Perruque, or Doublet, to cut ones Nails, to tye ones Garter, to change shoes if they pinch; to call for ones night gown, and slippers to be at ease, nor sing between the teeth, nor drum with ones fingers; all which are as incongruous, as for an officer of Horse to appear in shoes when he is called to attend the General.

Directions for our Demeanour in the Coach.

Being in the Coach, we are not to put on our Hats, but by command, nor to turn our backs upon the person of Quality upon any occasion.

The latter injunction does indeed strike one as being somewhat superfluous, unless our polite ancestors possessed the enviable power of sitting the wrong side up with care.

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It is observable likewise, when we meet with a consecrated Host, a Procession, Funeral, the King, Queen, Princess of the Blood, or persons of extraordinary Dignity, as the Popes Legate, etc. ; that it is a respect due to them, for us to stop our Coach till they be passed ; the Men to be uncovered, and the Ladies to pull off their Masks.

But if it be the Sacrament, we must out of the Coach if we can, and down upon our knees, though in the middle of the street.

Honour to whom honour is due, but the perusal of this book makes one sad, for be it remembered it was originally written for the French people, and all this “booing and booing,” this unreasoning and unreasonable worship of the Great and Titled of the World, broke down most fatally a hundred years later, when the mock ceremony and servility of ages were swept away in torrents of blood.

We are happier now in the possession of a more manly and independent kind of politeness, which is as honourable to those who receive it, as to those who offer it; and let us hope that toadyism is nearly extinct, although indeed the satirist says that “Parasites exist alway.”

V

HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE HOUSE

By HENRY B. WHEATLEY, F.S.A.

INTRODUCTION.

IN the following articles on the History and Development of the House, the title need not be considered as in any way tautological, for the history is by no means synonymous with the development. The general arrangement of the ordinary house continued the same for several centuries, and it was only when the taste for luxury had become more widely spread abroad a little time before the Renaissance that a very considerable structural alteration was made.

The habitations of the Ancient Britons were little better than huts, though there was doubtless a considerable difference among the various tribes, some of these being much more advanced in civilization than others. Where wood was abundant, the walls of the houses were made of stakes and wattling, like hurdles ; and in stony districts large stones were laid on each other without mortar. Some huts were hollowed out of the hills, and in marshy places the villages were built upon piles. Some of these piles have been discovered where excavations have been made in certain parts of London ; but we cannot be sure whether they were driven by the Britons, or by an earlier race who preceded them as inhabitants of this island.

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Roman villas in Britain were built upon the same plan as those which the owners had been used to in their native country ; for the Roman, as the Englishman does now, carried his own architecture with him, quite regardless of its adaptability to the climate of the place where he introduced it. The materials used by the Romans were chiefly bricks and stone ; but it is by no means improbable that some of the superstructures raised upon the walls that have been discovered many feet below the level of our present streets were built of wood. The general ground plan of the Roman house consisted of one or more large courts with buildings grouped round them ; and in India a plan very similar is still largely followed. Sir George Birdwood, when commenting upon Sir Purdon Clarke's description of the domestic architecture of India, pointed out this obvious similarity, and accounted for it partly by the fact that the Greeks and Romans were offshoots of the same primitive Aryan race as the Vedic Hindus who entered India about B.C. 3000.* Although the Romans remained in Britain for several centuries, their architecture did not take root in this country, and when they retired, domestic life again returned to a state of barbarism. It has been the fashion to chant the praises of the Saxon ; but in respect to his surroundings, his civilization was but a slight advance over that of the Briton before the Roman came here. Mr. Wright, however, held that the Roman villa was often changed into the great Saxon mansion, and that Lord Lytton's description in *Harold* of the Saxonized Roman house inhabited by Hilda is quite truthful.

Among the chief sources we possess for the con-

* *Journal of the Society of Arts*, June 8th, 1883, vol. xxxi., p. 743.

struction of a mental picture of a Saxon house are (1) the remains that have been excavated, (2) the descriptions of poets, and (3) the illuminations in old manuscripts. Now the teachings of each of these alone must be received with caution. The first source requires considerable knowledge in the person who attempts to explain the remains; the second source is frequently so full of imagination as to be almost untruthful; and the third source supplies us with pictures which are often as trivial as those of the poets are



FIG. I.—FOURTEENTH-CENTURY HOUSE.

fanciful. When, however, the three sources are carefully collated and made to illustrate each other, we are able to obtain a trustworthy picture of the life of our forefathers. The Anglo-Saxon epic of Beowulf contains a description of the magnificent house which Hrothgar commands his men to build for him. The roof, which rises to a great height, is carved with pinnacles and variegated with gold.

Everyone must remember the brilliant description of the house of Cedric the Saxon which Sir Walter Scott

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gives in *Ivanhoe*. It may be incorrect in a few of its details, but as a whole it gives us an excellent idea of the large rambling habitation of a Saxon gentleman. Although the time chosen by Scott is after the Conquest, the description will suit equally a period one or two centuries before. The palaces of Alfred, and of our other early kings, were apparently little different from the dwellings of their subjects, being wooden buildings formed of timber wattled together after the manner of hurdles. That Alfred's palace was not air-tight we learn from the anecdote of the burning of his candle. The Normans changed the aspect of the towns and country by erecting castles and other large buildings, but the dwellings of the masses appear to have remained old timber houses as before. In the year 1189 we learn from the City Records that an attempt was made to enforce building with stone, but without effect.

Fig. 1 (p. 37) is copied from a fourteenth-century MS. of an Anglo-Norman romance written in the latter half of the twelfth century, and is intended by the artist to represent King Arthur's palace. The door is ornamented with elaborate hinges, lock, and knocker, and the window of the hall is distinguished by its architectural design. The window with the grating belongs to Queen Guinevere's chamber, and the man tearing away the grating is Sir Lancelot. Immediately above is the window of the solar, or upper room. This was intended to represent a superior house, for the roof is most elaborately tiled, and the ornaments were handsome, and yet this was the whole of the accommodation. The Queen informed Lancelot that the wall between the hall and her chamber was so weak and dilapidated in one part that he could easily get through; but he preferred to break open the

grating, and obtain entrance immediately from the outside.

In the thirteenth century there was a great improvement in the construction of castles. The apartments were more convenient, and fine windows were fixed in the upper rooms, although these always looked inwards to the court. In the reign of Edward I. a new era commenced, and the fortress and palace were combined.

In the fourteenth century rooms were multiplied, and conveniences not dreamt of before were added; but still these rooms were only imperfectly protected against the weather. In the fifteenth century castellated houses increased largely all over the country, and the town houses or inns of the nobility were enlarged, so as to accommodate four, five, or even six hundred men. Probably an enlarged size of the ordinary London houses was due to the requirements of trade; thus it was at one time a proverbial characteristic of an avaricious and inhospitable person to shut the hall and live in the solar; but in London the ground floor was appropriated to purposes of business, and the principal apartments and sleeping-rooms were necessarily driven to the upper floors. Cellars, entered by a staircase from the street, and large lofts in the gabled roofs, were afterwards added. When the timber houses had grown into the old beetle-browed buildings, with their quaint carved beams, numerous specimens of which we meet with in different parts of the country—they were constructed in many different ways—some were entirely of timber; others, half timber houses, had their ground floors of stone or brick, and the upper portions only of wood.

The following description of the houses of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is taken from a valuable paper on Timber Houses by Mr. Charles

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Baily (*Surrey Archaeological Collections*, vol. iv., 1869, p. 253) :

In the southern districts of England the old English manor-houses, the homes of the gentry generally, as well as those of the better class of the yeomanry, were very simple in the plan, and very often exhibited a singular uniformity of design. In the centre was the hall, at the end of one side of which was the principal entrance to the house, a portion of the hall being cut off by a screen, to form a passage through the house from the front entrance to that at the back, which was directly opposite. On the side of this passage (known by the name of "the entrye," and sometimes called the "screens"), and opposite to the screen, were generally three doorways, as at Crowhurst Place, the seat of the Gaynesfords; sometimes, however, there were but two, as is the case at Great Tangle, in the parish of Wonersh, in Surrey. In both these examples the first of these doors opens into a parlour; at Crowhurst the second leads to a staircase, and the third to the butteries, kitchen, and to the whole of the domestic offices.

In the screen were two openings, without doors, through which the hall was entered. Beyond the upper or dais end of the hall were one or several rooms, of a more private character than either the parlour or hall; the sleeping-rooms were generally in the upper storeys. Externally there was usually a recess in the centre of the front, formed by one side of the hall, as we find was the case in the house of Great Tangle, as originally built. At either end of this central recess was a gabled projection; the one forming a porch over the entrance, the other a bay-window to the hall. Beyond these were two larger gabled ends; one enclosing the parlour and offices, the other the more private rooms before noticed.

Stephen Hawes, in his *Passe-tyme of Pleasure, or the Historie of Graunde Amoure and la Bel Pucel*, which was finished about the beginning of the year 1506, gives a most gorgeous description of an imaginary castle. In

the court Graunde Amoure drinks water of a most transcendent fragrance from a magnificent fountain whence flow four rivers, clearer than Nilus, Ganges, Tigris, or Euphrates. He enters a hall framed of jasper, with windows of crystal, a roof overspread with a golden vine, whose grapes were represented by rubies, a floor paved with beryl, and walls hung with rich tapestry.

In the sixteenth century one of the greatest changes was made in the construction of country houses, and this was the placing of the chief apartments on the upper floor. In consequence of this change the staircase became the principal feature of the house for the first time. Henry VIII. added a gatehouse of approach, and in his reign an enormous stride was made in the beauty and comfort of the great houses. In the Tudor style were produced a large number of mansions, whose beauty has never been surpassed ; and, fortunately, many of them remain to our own day dotted about the country. They are justly considered as monuments of which every Englishman should be proud, showing as they do that at one time at least in our history we could produce architects who were the equals of those of any other country.

Harrison, in his *Description of England* (1577—1587), gives a curious chapter on “The Building and Furniture of our Homes,” which is very instructive. Among other things he says—

The ancient manours and houses of our gentlemen are yet and for the most part of strong timber (in framing whereof our carpenters have been and are worthilie preferred before those of the like science among all other nations). Howbeit such as be latelie builded, are commonlie either of bricke or hard stone (or both); their roomes large and comelie, and houses of office further distant from their lodgings. Those of the nobilitie are likewise wrought with

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bricke and hard stone, as provision may best be made, but so magnificent and statelie, as the basest house of a baron doth often match (in our daies) with some honours of princes in old time. So that if ever curious building did flourish in England, it is in these our yeares, wherein our workemen excell, and are in maner comparable in skill with old Vitruvius, (Leo Baptista) and Serlo.

The countryman of Thorpe might well say this.

The introduction has exacted so much space that I shall have to curtail somewhat the particulars relating to the special department which is to be described in the first section, viz.—

I.

THE HALL.

For many centuries the hall remained the chief apartment of the house, where all met, the other rooms being mere appendages to it. Here the family lived, and here many of its members slept: the more important on benches, and servants on the floor. There was a sleeping room for the master and mistress, which they frequently shared with favoured visitors, and sometimes more rooms for the ladies of the family, which were called bowers. In Norman times, the word “bower” was to some extent superseded by “chamber.” We have already seen how scant the accommodation was in the ancient house, and another illustration (Fig. 2) will show this even more vividly. King Arthur is talking with Lancelot apart in the chamber, while his knights are waiting for him in the hall. The artist has not represented very skilfully the position of the door, which should open from the chamber into the hall.

The hall was the great scene of hospitality, where

visitors, however strange, were always made welcome. Again it is necessary to refer to the scene in Cedric's hall, as described in *Ivanhoe*, where, as well as the jovial prior and the templar, the despised Jew found a place. So ever-present was this view of the importance of hospitality that the reason given in *Beowulf* for the building of a house by Hrothgar was that he might have a "mead hall," where he could distribute his wealth to young and old.

Bede gives a vivid picture of the hall when he relates



FIG. 2.—KING ARTHUR AND HIS KNIGHTS.

how one of King Edwin's chieftains spoke in the discussion as to the reception to be given to the missionary Paulinus :

The present life of man, O king, seems to me, in comparison of that time which is unknown to us, like the swift flight of a sparrow through the room wherein you sit at supper in winter, with your commanders and ministers, and a good fire in the midst, whilst the storms of rain and snow prevail abroad, the sparrow, I say, flying in at one door and immediately out at another, whilst he is within, is safe from

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the wintry storm; but after a short space of fair weather, he immediately vanishes out of your sight into the dark winter from which he had emerged.*

The Norman hall did not differ in essentials from the Saxon hall, but it was built in a more solid manner and with greater attention to architectural effect. It also became the practice to build the hall of stone while the rest of the house remained of wood. The massive timber roof was independent of the walls, and Hallam likens it to the inverted hull of a large ship.

In his remarks on the halls of the twelfth and thirteenth century Mr. Hudson Turner says:

The roof of the hall, when too large to be covered by a roof of a single span, was supported according to its size on one or more ranges of pillars of wood or stone. Marble columns for the king's hall at Clarendon are mentioned in an account of the year 1176. Neckam says: "In the hall let there be pillars at due intervals." Sometimes there appears to have been only one range of such supports, which extending longitudinally through the room, reached to and carried the ridge or crest of the roof. But halls were frequently divided by pillars and arches of wood or stone into three parts or aisles, like a church.†

Mr. Turner also says that probably—

The only respect in which the houses of our early kings differed from the ordinary manor houses of the time was that they were on a greater scale, and had also a chapel annexed to them.

Mr. Parker writes of the next century:—

Little alteration was made in the hall during the fourteenth century. It usually occupied the whole of the central part of the house, sometimes from the ground to

* *Ecclesiastical History*, Book II., chap. xiii.

† *Domestic Architecture in England*, i. 4.

the roof; in other instances there were cellars or low rooms under it, and sometimes a kind of vestibule with a vaulted ceiling carried on a series of pillars and arches, as at Raby, and in the bishop's palace at Wells.*

What were the characteristics of the halls of the fifteenth century we may judge for ourselves by visiting the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, where the halls are used as of old. After the fifteenth century the glory of the hall departed.



FIG. 3.—THE DAIS.

We are dealing with the house, and the consideration of the form of the castle does not come within the scope of this inquiry, except in so far as the castle was a dwelling-house. As already pointed out, when the country became more settled the castles were made more comfortable, and in the fourteenth century large arched windows were introduced into the halls. Turning to the opposite end of the social ladder, we find the cottage described as consisting usually of two

* *Domestic Architecture* (Parker), ii. 34.

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apartments, one devoted to the pigs, the cow, and the poultry; while in the other all the peasant's family were huddled together; but in this they were little worse off than their successors in more highly civilized periods. Chaucer describes in his *Nun's Priest's Tale* the cottage of a widow as consisting of two rooms, one called the hall and the other the bower. The widow and her two daughters slept in the bower, and the poultry roosted on a perch in the hall, on the floor of which the pigs made themselves comfortable.

The hall was entered through a porch, and over the screen was a gallery for the minstrels. The passage, at one end of which was the principal entrance, and at the other the back-door opening into the servants' court, was (as previously explained) called the entry, or the screens, and was frequently only separated from the hall by a curtain. Sometimes there were small lattice windows in the wall between the hall and some of the upper rooms, and at the manor house of Great Chatfield, in Wiltshire, stone masks of a king and a bishop are inserted in the walls, through the eyes and mouths of which a view of the hall can be obtained. Archbishop Parker, on the occasion of entertaining Queen Elizabeth at a banquet at Lambeth, writes :

If her Highness will give me leave I will kepe my bigger hall that day for the nobles, and the rest of her traine; and if it please her Majesty she may come in through my gallery, and see the disposition of the hall, at a window opening thereunto.*

The fire was kindled on a hearth of tiles or bricks in the middle of the hall, and the smoke, after filling the

* *Surrey Archeological Collections*, vol. iv., p. 257.

apartment, finally escaped through a hole in the roof, over which a small covered tower, with open sides, was erected, to keep out the rain. This was called the *louvre*, from the old French *l'ouvert*. When the louvre was no longer required for its original purpose, it was glazed, and became a mere ornament to the roof. There were advantages in placing the fire in the middle

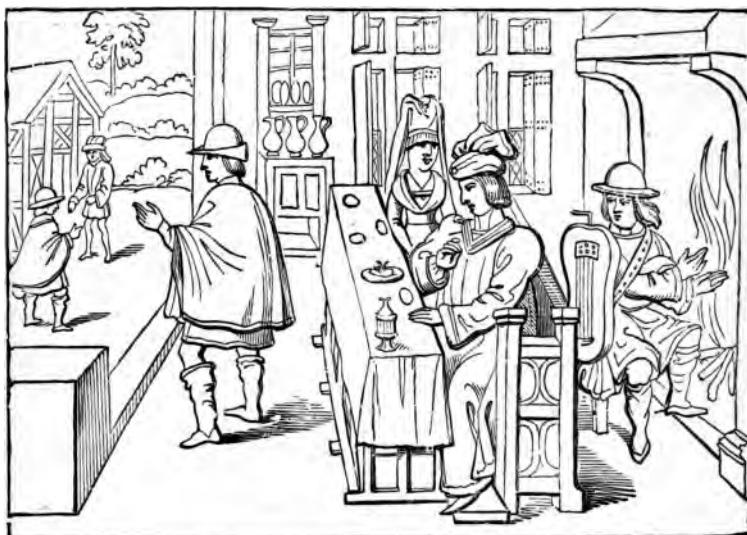


FIG. 4.—THE MINSTREL IN THE HALL.

of the hall, as it caused a very general diffusion of heat; and as wood or charcoal was used instead of coal, the smoke was not unbearable—in fact, it helped to make the houses less unhealthy than they would otherwise have been. On the other hand, the old writers often refer to the sootiness of the rooms, and the soreness of eyes caused by the smoke and smother. Mr. J. H. Parker says that fires continued to be made on a hearth in the middle of the hall, called the reredos, in many

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college halls in Oxford and Cambridge until about 1820, and in Westminster College Hall until 1850.* Chimneys in the hall did not come into frequent use until the fifteenth century, and Scott is therefore wrong in introducing them into the hall of Cedric the Saxon.

The floor of the hall was either of stone or of tiles, which was covered with straw or rushes. In the fifteenth century great improvements were made in the flooring, and the hall was paved with tiles of various colours, so as to form ingenious patterns.

Attention must now be given to the most important feature of the hall, viz., the dais. This was the high table for distinguished guests, placed lengthways across the end of the hall opposite the entrance, and usually on a raised platform. In the centre was the seat of the lord, sometimes a separate chair or throne, but more commonly a long settee was placed at the end of the hall, sometimes fixed against the wall. At Crowhurst the floor of the hall was not raised at the end;† and at Hampton Court there does not appear to have been a dais at all, because there is a large chamber behind the upper end of the hall, which is still hung with the original tapestry of the time of Henry VIII.‡ Fig. 3 shows the usual form of dais, with the tapestry behind. The other tables were ranged down the sides of the hall, and the settees were placed against the wall. The guests only sat on the one side, and on the other side was free space for the servants. In the sixteenth century, however, a change was made, and both sides of the tables were occupied. These tables were sometimes fixed, but more often they were merely long

* *Domestic Architecture in England*, ii. 39 (note).

† *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, vol. iv., p. 284.

‡ *Domestic Architecture*, iii., p. 54.

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planks of timber placed on trestles, which could easily be removed. As old Capulet cries :

You are welcome, gentlemen ! Come, musicians, play.
A hall, a hall ! give room, and foot it, girls.
More light, ye knaves ; and turn the tables up.

In a vocabulary of the fifteenth century the ordinary furniture of the hall is enumerated as follows :

A board, a trestle, a banker, a dorser, a natte (table cloth), a table dormant, a basin, a laver, fire on the hearth, a brand or torch, a yule block, an andiron, tongs, a pair of bellows, wood for the fire, a long settle, a chair, a bench, a stool, a cushion, and a screen.*

The board is the original of the more modern cupboard, and was at one time simply a board on legs, spread with a cloth, for the purpose of displaying plate and other valuables. A locker was subsequently attached to it, as a safe depository for the property when not in use ; and it was called a buffet. This board is seen in Fig. 4, where also is shown the permanent or dormant table. The gentleman and lady are seated on a bench with a back, and the wandering minstrel is allowed to seat himself, without ceremony or suspicion, on a stool by the fire.

At the end of the fourteenth century the bay window became a feature of the hall. It was usually placed at one end of the dais, and sometimes there was one at each end. The walls of the old houses were filled in with loam and clay, which frequently required reparation. Hangings were therefore a necessity, and universally used. This is very clearly brought before us when Hamlet says :

“ Imperious Cæsar, dead, and turn’d to clay,
Might stop a hole to keep the wind away ;
O, that that earth, which kept the world in awe,
Should patch a wall to expel the winter’s flaw.”

* Wright’s *Volume of Vocabularies*, p. 197.

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Dining in hall began to decline somewhat in the fourteenth century, and was more often relinquished in the fifteenth century, except by lovers of time-honoured customs. Still, although the taste for domestic privacy increased, and the chief guests dined in another room, the hall continued in the sixteenth century to hold its position as a place for general hospitality. In the seventeenth century its decay was complete, and the great hall began to be appropriated to its modern purpose of a mere entrance. During these centuries popular writers never ceased to inveigh against the decay of hospitality, and these complaints culminated in the ballad of *The Old and Young Courtier*—

With an old hall hung about with pikes, guns, and bows,
With old swords and bucklers that had borne many shrewde
blows,
And a cup of old sherry to comfort his copper nose ;
 Like an old courtier of the queen's,
 And the queen's old courtier.

Here is the other side :

With a new-fashioned hall, built where the old one stood,
Hung round with new pictures that do the poor no good,
With a fine marble chimney wherein burns neither coal nor
wood,
And a new smooth shovel-board whereon no victual ne'er
stood ;
 Like a young courtier of the king's,
 And the king's young courtier.

Writers laid all the blame upon the rich, but the moving cause was the change in the constitution of society. The recollection of serfdom had died away, and greater independence of character among the class which had in former times enjoyed the hospitality of the nobles, combined with their improved condition, made them less willing to accept it. In spite of all

that poets could write, the public life of the hall was dead, never to be revived.

In the seventeenth century, the hall being no longer required, it became a frequent practice to supersede it by a poor lobby. Where, however, the old hall remained it has continued to be used occasionally as a place of festivity, and, as an admirable instance, may be mentioned the fact that until the year 1883, when a new ball-room had been erected at Sandringham, the Prince and Princess of Wales had always used the hall of their house as a ball-room.

II.

THE LIVING ROOMS.

As already pointed out a few pages back, the early house in most cases consisted of little more than a hall or living room, and a bower or bedroom.

And in a launde, upon an hille of floures,
Was sette this noble goddesse Nature;
Of braunches were hir halles and hir boures
Ywrought, aftir hir crafte and hir mesure.*

Edward I. built a house for himself and his queen in Woolmer Forest, Hampshire, and this royal residence only contained a hall, a chamber, a chapel, and a kitchen. It is described in the Pipe Rolls :

This house was seventy-two feet long and twenty-eight feet wide. It had two chimneys, a chapel and two wardrobes. The chapel and wardrobes had six glazed windows. There was also a hall in it, but the two chimneys appear to have belonged to the chamber. The windows of the chamber and the hall had wooden shutters (*hostia*), but do not appear to have had glass.†

* Chaucer's *Assembly of Foules*, ll. 302—305.

† Wright's *Homes of other Days*, 1871, p. 152.

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This word "bower" (A.-S. bûr) originally only meant a room; thus the carpenter in Chaucer's *Miller's Tale* asks who it is "that chaunteth thus under our boures wal" (l. 181). But, in course of time, it came to be understood as the lady's boudoir, and "brid in bure," or lady in her bower, became a common phrase. The Norman word "chamber" to a great extent drove out the Saxon "bower," but the two words were used pretty equally by Chaucer.

The Solar was an upper room sometimes built in the roof over the hall. In Caxton's *Golden Legend* (1483), the room in which Christ celebrated His Last Supper is described as the *solar*; and the sitting-room over a shop was called by the same name. Often in the fourteenth century the lady's chamber was distinguished as the bower, and the lord's chamber as the solar. Probably it is to the fact of the sitting-room being situated in the upper floor that allusion is made in the *Wyf of Bath's Prologue*—

Better is, quod he, hihe in the roof abyde,
Than with an angry womman doun in a hous.

ll. 778—779.

As early as the thirteenth century a portion of the chamber was partitioned off by wainscoting, or a lath and plaster wall, for the reception of the bed; but for long after this it was so common a practice to place beds in sitting-rooms that it becomes a matter of some difficulty to draw the distinction between bedrooms and living-rooms. In the fifteenth century the sitting-room often contained a bed which was hidden during the daytime by a handsome coverlid; and sometimes the master and mistress slept in the withdrawing-room behind the dais.

In the fourteenth century was introduced a new apartment styled the parlour (*parloir*), or talking-room,

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a meeting-place which formed a link between the publicity of the hall and the privacy of the chamber. It was adopted from the monastic houses, where the parlour was the room for receiving people who came to converse on business. The lady now moved from her bower to the parlour, and here she and her maidens did their work and received company.

In the fifteenth century there was often more than one parlour in an ordinary-sized house, and in the sixteenth century this room was in a state of transition. It became the ordinary living-room, and rooms with more important names took its place as the chief reception-room. The name "parlour" has continued to the present day, but it gradually came to mean a room on the ground floor, and the shop had usually its back parlour. The same love of high-sounding names that makes the house-agent talk of reception-rooms in the poorest houses causes him to consider the word "parlour" a much less satisfactory one than dining-room. This I believe is not the case in the United States, where the name "parlour" is still treated with some respect as appertaining to the ordinary sitting-room of the house. The chief living-room was not invariably called the parlour, but various names were given to it, such as chamber of pleasaunce, chamber of parements,—this latter word meaning ornamental furniture. In the *Squyeres Tale* Chaucer uses this term :

Whan that this gentil kyng, this Cambynskan,
Rose fro his bord, ther as he sat ful hye :
Biforn him goth ful lowde menstraleye,
Til he cam to his chambre of parementz,
Ther as ther were divers instruments,
That is y-like an heven for to heere.

i. ll. 258—263.

In the *Legende of Goode Women* mention is made of "daunsyng chambres full of parements."

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There was another room of which mention must be made, because, although its object was somewhat ecclesiastical, it was often adapted to secular uses. This was the *Oriel*, which occasionally formed a sort of waiting-room outside the door of the principal chamber. The chapel was usually divided into two stories by a floor, the upper one being open at the east end to the chancel, which was the entire height of the building. The two rooms forming the upper and lower parts of the nave of the chapel were not exclusively devoted to sacred purposes, and were separated from the chancel by a screen, which could be closed by wooden shutters or by a curtain. They also contained fireplaces, and the upper room was called the *Oriel* or *Oriole**

Although a shop can scarcely be called a living-room, it must be noticed in this place. In the thirteenth century, and much later, very little display was made in the shops, which were little more than covered sheds. There were usually cellars for storage in connection with the shops, and sometimes a solar above for the family of the shopkeeper to live in. In 1236 the executors of the will of a citizen of London demised

Two shops which are in front of the stone house . . . together with the cellar under the same stone house . . . with the free light of the same cellar, towards the south, through the iron-barred window, without any obstruction or hindrance of light.†

In the fifteenth century there had not been much improvement in the appearance of the shops, but the shopkeepers began to have more roomy premises. Sometimes the bedroom was at the back of the shop, but more often there were chambers above, and in the

* Parker's *Domestic Architecture in England from Edward I. to Richard II.*, p. 82.

† Turner's *Domestic Architecture in England*, p. 96 (note).

roof were storerooms. The goldsmiths were among the first to improve their shops, and if many of these were as handsome as the one shown in the accompanying illustration (Fig. 5) they must have greatly improved the appearance of the various towns. Goldsmiths' Row, Cheapside, was built at the end of the fifteenth century, and it long remained one of the sights of London.

The following description of the better class of tradesmen's or merchants' houses in the fifteenth cen-



FIG. 5.—A GOLDSMITH'S SHOP.

tury shows that a certain improvement had taken place in general accommodation :

The house of an ordinary citizen had a narrow frontage, and usually presented its gable to the street ; it had very frequently a basement story groined, which formed a cellar, and elevated the first floor of the house three or four feet above the level of the street. At Winchelsea the vaulted basements of three or four of the old houses remain, and show that the entrance to the house was by a short stone stair alongside the wall ; under these stairs was the entrance into the cellar, beside the steps a window to the cellar, and over that the window of the first floor. Here, as was usually the case, the upper part of the house was probably

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of wood, and it was roofed with tiles ; on the first floor was the shop, and beside it an alley leading to the back of the house, and to a straight stair which gave access to the building over the shop, which was a hall or common dining-room occupying the whole of the first floor. The kitchen was at the back, near the hall, and sometimes the cooking was done in the hall itself. A private stair mounted to the upper floor, which was the sleeping apartment, and probably was often left in one undivided garret ; the great roof of the house was a wareroom or storeroom, goods being lifted to it by a crane which projected from a door in the gable.*

Allusion has already been made in the former section to the popular disgust which followed the disuse of the hall as the public dining-place. In ordinary houses the master and mistress dined in the parlour or dining-room, but in the great houses there was a special room called the great chamber. An exceedingly interesting manuscript entitled "A Breviate touching the Order and Governmente of a Nobleman's House, with the Officers, theire places and chardge," dated 1605, was printed in *Archæologia* (vol. xiii., p. 315), from which much valuable information can be obtained.

The gentleman usher governed all above stairs or in the presence of his lord, but when the lord kept a hall he had no command, as by order of antiquity the marshalling in that place belonged of right to the masters of the household, viz., the steward and the comptroller. When, however, the lord dined, as was usual, in the great chamber, the gentleman usher was there supreme. The following is a description of his duties in respect to the arrangement of the table :

At dinner or supper [the lorde] is to have his seate in the midest of the table, a littell above the salte, his face beeinge to the whole vewe of the chamber, and oposite to him, the carver is to stande, and at the upper haunde of the carver,

* Cutts' *Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages*, p. 534.

the countis, or ells to sitte above the carver of the same side hee is of, oposite to her lorde; and in this service it is to bee notede, that lordes messe is to bee placed above the salte, and his service of meate to bee presentede before him in order as it is servide up, and the best sorte of straungers are to be placede at the upper ende of the table, above the lorde and ladie, as the principall place, and those so placede, the carver is to have a speciall respecte unto, for those beneath the salte, if any such bee so placed, the carver is not to deale withall, but by derection from the lorde or ladye, as at theire pleasure in curtesie. Hee is to appointe a suer unarmede for the bordes ende, if there bee any, but noe carver, and that place to bee well attended upon, by good and diligente wayters, and theire meate to be broken up at a side table.

The gentleman usher had to see that the great chamber was well kept, and it was his duty further to command the yeomen ushers to execute their commissions with speed, so that there might be no delay. The following reasons are given for special care in this respect :

It is the place of state where the lorde keepeth his presence, and the ieyes of all the best sorte of straungers bee there lookers on ; that what fault beeinge there commyted bee never so littell, sheweth more then in any place ells wheresoever, and therefore a speciall respecte, care, and, diligens, is to bee had therein, for that place before all others is the cheefe and principall staite in the house, for service there no dewelie and comlie done, disgraceth all the rest in any place ells, as littell woorth, what chardge of entertainement soever bee bistowede, wherfore the gentleman usher is to take a speciaill care herein for their credite sake, and honnor of that place.

The following directions contain the duty of the yeoman usher of the great chamber :

Hee is to execute the gentleman usher's directions, and to see the greate chamber everie day earlye swepte and

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neatlie kepte, with fier to bee made at the seasone of the yeare, or ells the chemney to bee garnishede with greene bowes or flowers, and he is at meal tymes to see that if wayters doe wante in the greate chamber, to goe for them to attende the lordes table, and his place is to attende at the dore, and theire bee greatee receipte of straungers, as upon greate assemblies, plaies or such like, to lett in none into the chamber, but such as in his discretion shall bee thoughte meete.

When we read of all this state, and of the number of attendants, it is necessary to bear in mind that,

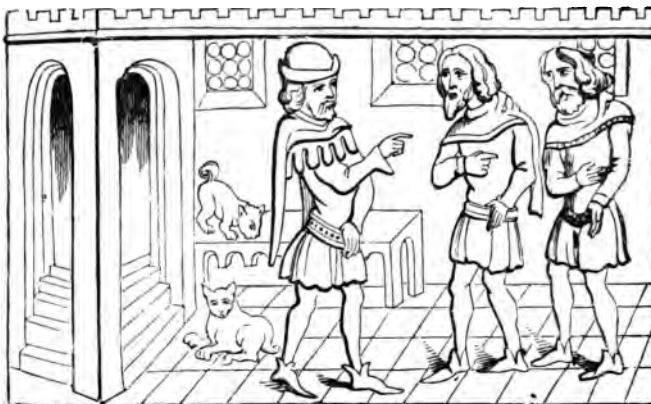


FIG. 6.—CHAMBER OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

although in course of time much of it had grown into mere show, the various officers had originally been appointed from actual necessity. William Rufus established ushers of the hall and kitchen to protect the guests and cooks from the troops of hungry hangers-on who invaded the hall, and often attempted to carry off the provisions as the cooks bore them to table. Gaimar, in the description of a grand feast at Westminster, tells of the three hundred ushers or door-keepers who were appointed to occupy the entrance passages, who were to stand with rods to

protect the guests as they mounted the steps from the importunity of the *garsons*, and he adds that those who carried the provisions and liquor to the table were also attended by their ushers that the *lecheurs* might not snatch the vessels from them.*

As to the furniture of the dining table, it would occupy too much space here to specify the various articles that it was made up of. The huge salt cellar, of which many specimens still remain, formed for several centuries the principal ornament, and, as we know, its use as line of demarcation was strictly defined. Drinking cups also formed very prominent objects, although not to so great an extent as in Germany, where, according to Mr. Ruskin, the native looked upon every material with a view to its capability of being made into a cup. We have already alluded to the dresser and sideboard, which grew out of a simple board for the display of plate. In the earlier centuries these luxuries were chiefly confined to the nobility, but in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the merchants emulated them in display.

In the living-rooms, even as late as the fifteenth century, the articles of household furniture were few, and Mr. Wright quotes a list of the contents of a parlour, which is of interest :

A hanging of worsted, red and green,
A cupboard of ash-boards,
A table and a pair of trestles,
A branch of latten, and four lights,
A pair of andirons,
A pair of tongs,
A form to sit upon,
And a chair.†

* Gaimar, *Estorie des Engles*, quoted by Wright in *The Homes of other Days*, p. 97.

† *The Homes of other Days*, p. 381.

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Of the drawing-room there is not much to be said from an antiquarian point of view. It has grown into one of the most charming of rooms, over which the mistress of the house is able to throw a general air of distinction if she is endowed with taste, and to make it at the same time one of the most comfortable of rooms, but most of this is a growth of modern times. Historically it is of course associated with the receptions of royalty. In the "Declaration of the Diet and



FIG. 7.—KING ARTHUR AND MORGAIN LE FAY.

Particular Fare of King Charles I. when Duke of York,"* one of the household is described as the "Keeper of the Duke's withdrawing chamber."

I propose now to say a few words upon one or two subjects which belong generally to all the rooms of the house, and can therefore with advantage be noticed separately even at the end of this section; these are the walls, the floors, the staircases, and the chimneys.

In the twelfth century, the walls of most of the

* *Archæologia*, vol. xv., p. 1.

ordinary houses must have been of a somewhat uncomfortable character, as tapestry hangings were very costly, and were confined to the houses of the wealthy. A rough sort of painting on the walls was more common. The illustration on p. 60 (Fig. 7) represents Morgain le Fay showing King Arthur a wall painting containing the adventures of Lancelot. In the fourteenth century Arras became famous for its fabrics, and our nobility made large purchases from that place. In the inventory given on p. 59 mention is made of "a hanging of worsted," and sometimes this was fitted on the wall like a picture, and only covered a portion of the wall. Harrison, in his description of the building and furniture of our houses, writes:

The wals of our houses on the inner sides in like sort be either hanged with tapisterie, arras worke, or painted cloths, wherein either diverse histories or headless beasts, knots, and such like are stained, or else they are seeled with oke of our owne or wainsecot brought hither out of the east countries, whereby the roomes are not a little commended, made warm and much more close than otherwise they would be.*

The floors of the hall were often left in a very bad condition, and the rushes and straw thrown over the surface hid considerable inequalities of surface; but in the upper rooms wood was usually laid down. When carpets were introduced into England in the thirteenth century, the use of them was considered very effeminate. The romances and poems of the fourteenth century frequently refer to carpets, but they were uncommon even in the king's houses. In the fifteenth century carpets were more often seen, but they were still far from common. Harrison describes the floors of his time as being generally composed of plaster.

It was long before the architect learned the art of

* *Description of England*, Book II., chap. xii.

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making an internal staircase, and most of the solars or chambers in the upper floors were approached by a rude sort of ladders or external staircases, which were protected from the weather by an overhanging shed or penthouse (Fig. 8). In the fifteenth century staircases were constructed inside the houses, and all who have any acquaintance with the old manor houses of England know how important a feature of the building the fine old staircase soon became.

There is no allusion in Anglo-Saxon writers to chimneys or fireplaces, in the modern acceptation of the word, although Dr. Bosworth gives in his Dictionary the word *fyr-hus*, in the Aelfric Glossary, as the equivalent of a chimney. The Normans continued the use of the piled-up fire in the middle of the hall, but in the more private apartments a fire was frequently made on a hearth beneath a fireplace built against the side wall of the room. In the fifteenth century the fireplace at the side of the hall, with a hearth and chimney, was coming into general use, and from the mantel-shelf pegs were fixed, upon which clothes were hung to dry. A side fire in the hall is shown in Fig. 4 (see *ante*, p. 47).

The word "chimney" was used to designate the fire itself, or rather a furnace, as well as the passage by which the smoke escaped; thus in Wiclit's version of Matthew (chap. xiii.) we find, "and they schulen sende hem into the chymney of fier."*

We can well understand how the central fire which

* It was also sometimes applied to a portable fire-pan or stove carried into a room for the purpose of warming it. In the *Anturs of Arthur* (*circa* 1420) we read of a "schimnay" of charcoal taken in to warm a knight; and even in the sixteenth century John Knox wrote, "And so was brought ane chymilar full of burnyng coallis" (*Hist. Ref.* in *Works*, 1846, i. 177).—EDITOR.

was appropriate for the hall was quite inapplicable to the smaller bed and living rooms, but still, although the introduction of the chimney was an important event in the history of the house, it was several centuries before chimneys became common. The author of *Pierce the Ploughman's Crede* (about 1394 A.D.) refers to "chambers with chymneyes" not altogether with praise, and it was evidently considered a matter of luxury to have a fire in the ordinary rooms.



FIG. 8.—EXTERNAL STAIRCASE FROM BAYEUX TAPESTRY.

Harrison makes a very interesting statement on this point, for he says that old men living in the village where he resided remarked on "the multitude of chimnies lately erected, whereas in their young days there were not above two or three, if so many, in the most uplandish towns of the realm." As an exception to this general statement it is mentioned that religious houses, manor places of the lords, and perhaps the houses of some other great personages, had their chimneys.*

* For a long time after wall-chimneys began to be built the flue or shaft was called the tun or tunnel. A certain

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It was at this time, when fireplaces with their handsome mantel-boards were brought into general use, that the Tudor style of architecture came into being, and in this style, which gave us the perfection of a country house, chimneys form the special feature.

III.

THE BEDROOM.

In no room of the house is the distinction between different classes at different periods of our history more clearly seen than in the bedroom. We certainly find our early kings living in a somewhat shiftless manner, and we read that on one occasion Edward I. and Queen Eleanor were sitting on their bedside, attended by the ladies of their court, when they narrowly escaped death by lightning ; but in the next century luxury had greatly increased, and very different customs had become common among the rich. The poorer classes, however, continued for many years to

John Baret, who died in 1463, mentions in his will the recent addition to his house of " iij tunys of chemeneyes." Horman, in 1519, says "the shanke or tonel of the chymney voydeth not the smoke" ; and Spenser, in the *Faery Queen*, describes how Alma, the mistress of the House of Temperance, led her guests into the kitchen, whose vast vault had "one great chimney, whose long tonnell thence the smoke forth threw." Even in 1538 Leland, the antiquary, seems to have looked upon flues in the house walls as wonderful novelties. He relates how he noted "in the Haule of Bolton how chimeneys were convayed by Tunnells made on the syds of the Wauls betwixt the Lights in the Haull, and by this means, and by no Lovers [Louvres] is the smoke of the Harthe in the Hawle wonder strangly convayed."—EDITOR.

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be far from comfortable in their bed accommodation. That worthy parson William Harrison speaks of the improvement in bedding which became common in Elizabeth's reign, but this improvement did not consist in much more than the substitution of a pillow for a log and a mattress for a bed of straw. A well-known passage from Harrison's *Description of England* is of so much importance in this inquiry that I transfer it entire to these pages :

The second is the great (although not generall) amendment of lodging, for, said they, our fathers, yea, and we ourselves also, have lien full oft upon straw pallets, on rough mats covered onlie with a sheet, under coverlets made of dagswain or hopharlots (I use their owne termes), and a good round log under their heads instead of a bolster (or pillow). If it were so that our fathers or the good man of the house, had within seven yeares after his marriage purchased a mattress or flockebed, and thereto a sacke of chaffe to rest his head upon, he thought himselfe to be as well lodged as the lord of the towne, that peradventure laie seldome in a bed of downe or whole fethers; so well were they contented, and with such base kind of furniture, which also is not verie much amended as yet in some parts of Bedfordshire, and elsewhere further off from our southerne parts. Pillowes, said they, were thought meet onelie for women in childbed ; as for servants, if they had anie sheet above them, it was well, for seldome had they anie under their bodies, to keepe them from the pricking straws that ran oft through the canvas of the pallet and rased their hardened hides.*

This description shows that for several centuries little change took place in the arrangements of the bed-chamber. In the Anglo-Saxon house the beds were fitted up in recesses or closets, as will be seen in the illustration on p. 67 (Fig. 9), taken from Aelfric's version of Genesis (Claudius, B. iv.). A sack filled

* Harrison, ed. Furnivall, 1877, Part I., p. 240.

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.with fresh straw was laid on the raised bench or board, and a curtain hung down in front, shutting the bed off from the room. If we may judge from the various representations of men and women in bed, little covering was used by our ancestors, but, of course, such pictures are not altogether conclusive on this point. It was the custom to take off all clothes, and then to wrap a sheet round the person, over all a coverlet being thrown. A goatskin bed-covering was considered an appropriate present for an Anglo-Saxon abbot, and bearskins are described as a part of the furniture of a bed. A pillow for the head appears to have completed what was then considered necessary for the comfort of the sleepers. The word *bedstead*, which has continued in use to the present day to represent a separate piece of furniture, originally merely meant the place for the bed, and would more accurately describe the beds shown in our illustration than what we now understand by the word. Movable pieces of furniture were also used by the Anglo-Saxons, and are sometimes represented in the illustrations of old manuscripts.

The manners and customs of the Saxons in England were doubtless much like those which were common to them in the old country. In the romance of Beowulf we find an indication that the bedchambers in the palace of a chieftain were completely detached and far removed from the hall. The hall of Hrothgar was visited by a monster named Grendel, who came at night to prey upon its inhabitants, and it was Beowulf's mission to rid the place of this infliction. After the festivities, at which Wealtheow, Hrothgar's queen, assisted, the family retire from the hall, and leave Beowulf and his followers to sleep there. In the night the monster appears, and after a fearful combat is killed by Beowulf. The watchmen

on the wall hear with a "fearful terror" the sound of the fray, but Hrothgar and his family in their bed-chambers hear little or nothing of what is going on in the hall.

Although a greater degree of luxury was common among the Normans than the Saxons were accustomed to, yet we do not find any great change in the bedsteads and bedding, as may be seen from Fig. 10, which is taken from MS. Cotton, Nero, c. iv. The tester bed came into use soon after the Conquest, and the hangings were sometimes the cause of accidents.

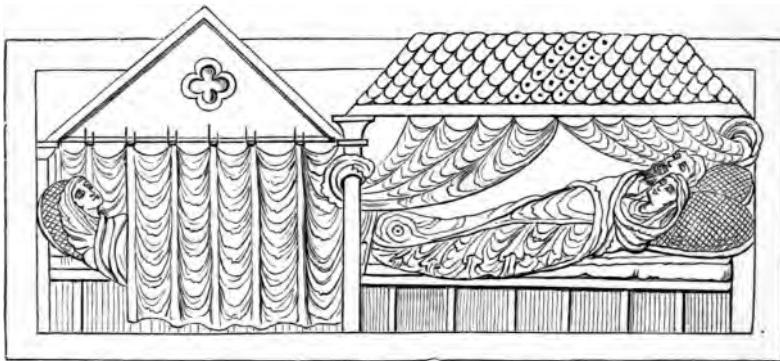


FIG. 9.—ANGLO-SAXON BEDS.

Tales are told of fires caused by the setting light to the curtains by some careless reader in bed who fell asleep with the candle burning by his side. Neckam, in the latter part of the twelfth century, describes how a bedroom should be furnished. He says the walls should be covered with a curtain or tapestry, and besides the bed there should be a chair and a bench at the foot of the bed. A feather-bed, a bolster, and a pillow, an ornamental quilt, sheets, either of silk or linen, with a coverlet of green say, or fur, completed the necessary bedding. On one side of the room was

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a pole for the falcon, and on the other a like pole for hanging clothes upon. If this was a fair representation of a bedchamber at that time, we must allow that a considerable amount of household comfort had been attained by the richer classes. One feature is omitted in this picture, and that is the lamp which was commonly used—at all events, in the following century. Sometimes the lamps were suspended, but in other cases they were fixed on a stand. Mattresses were used by Henry III., and linen sheets had become somewhat common in the thirteenth century. In the Liberale Rolls of Henry III. the bedchamber is occasionally mentioned as separate from the other chambers, but in the fourteenth century the distinction had become more common. But this was not the case in France, for there beds often formed imposing features of the chief rooms of the house. Lacroix, in his *Arts of the Middle Ages*, describes the dwelling-room of a seigneur of the fourteenth century, which, besides a large bed, contained a variety of other furniture needed for the ordinary requirements of daily life. The time that was not given to business, to outdoor amusements, to state receptions, and to meals, was passed, both by nobles and citizens, in this room. The bed stood in a corner, and was surrounded by thick curtains, and formed what was then called a *closet*, or small room enclosed by tapestry. A huge chimney admitted many persons to the fireside, and near the hearth was placed the seat of honour of the master or mistress. Stools and chairs were placed about the room, and cushions on the window benches allowed those who desired a view to enjoy it. Carpets covered the tiled floor, and a dresser along one side of the room, filled with valuable plate, completed the furniture.

The feather-bed is said to have been introduced in the fourteenth century, and in the fifteenth century it

had become common among the richer classes. We have seen, however, that Neckam mentions what may either have been a feather-bed or quilt of feathers, not to lie on, but to be used as a covering.

John Russell, who was usher of the chamber and marshal of the hall to Duke Humphrey of Gloucester,



FIG. IO.—A NORMAN BED.

wrote a book of directions called *The Boke of Nurture*, in which the bedroom is not forgotten :

Than to youre sovereynes chambur walke ye in hast,
All the clothes of the bed then aside ye cast ;
The fethurbed ye bete, without hurt, so no feddurs ye wast,
Fustian and shetis clene by sight and sans ye tast.
Kover with a keverlyte clenly, that bed so manerly made,
The bankers and quosshyns, in the chambur se them feire
y-sprad,
Bothe bedshete and pillow also, that they be saaf up stad,
* * * * *
Wyndowes and cuppeborde with carpetis and cossdyns
splayd ;
Se ther be a good fyre in the chambur conveyed,
With wood and fuelle redy the fuyre to bete and aide.

From the *Household Ordinances* it appears that Henry VII. had a fustian and sheet under his featherbed, over the bed a sheet, then "the overfustian above," and then "a pane of ermines" like an eider down quilt. "A head sheete of raynes" and another of ermines were over the pillows.* Fustian was a cotton material, and usually kept for summer wear. Fustian of Naples was of a finer texture, and used for pillow cases, but linen of Reynes was a specially fine material. The woollen blanket was introduced in the fourteenth century; it was sometimes made of a texture originally imported from Chalons, in France, and called shalloon. In Chaucer's *Reve's Tale* we are told:

And in his owne chambir hem made a bed,
With schetys and with chalouns fair-i-spred.

(ll. 219, 220.)

In the fourteenth century the hangings of the bed began to be very luxurious, and large sums of money were spent upon them. In 1377 Gilbert Prince, a famous artist of his day, received from the exchequer forty-four pounds for ornamenting a pair of bed-curtains, and in wills of the period we often find bequests of these hangings. In 1398 the Duc d'Orleans paid eight hundred francs for *un chambre portative*, which consisted of a set of hangings, a seler, dorsar curtains, and a counterpoint. The last item was one of the most gorgeous pieces of furniture in the bedroom, and the coverlid found by the populace in the palace of the Duke of Lancaster in 1381 was estimated to be worth a thousand marks. The illustration of a bedchamber in the fifteenth century (Fig. II) shows a half-tester bed, and represents the death of the Emperor Nero from a French MS. of Josephus.

* *The Babees Book*, ed. F. J. Furnivall (Early English Text Society, 1868), p. 179.

In the *Boke of Curtasye* (fifteenth century) the duties of the grooms of the chamber are described. They were to make pallets of litter nine feet long and seven feet broad.

For lordys two beddys schalle be made,
Both outer and inner, so god me glade.*

The visitors at a house often slept in the same room as the master and mistress, and it was quite common



FIG. 11.—FIFTEENTH-CENTURY BEDCHAMBER.

for friends and even strangers to sleep together. This is illustrated by the constant use of the word "bedfellow" in old literature. In the *Boke of Curtasye* we are told that it is courteous if you sleep with any man to ask what part of the bed he likes, and lie far from him.

* *The Boke of Curtasye* (Furnivall's *Babees Book*), p. 313.

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In bedde yf thou falle herberet to be,
With felawe, maystur, or her degré,
Thou schalt enquere be curtasye
In what part of the bedde he wylle lye ;
Be honest and lye thou fer hym fro,
Thou art not wyse but thou do so.*

In course of time greater privacy was sought for, and the number of bedrooms increased. Still the truckle or trundle bed which rolled under the larger bed long continued to be used. The lady's-maid slept in the bed below her mistress, and the valet occupied the wheeled bed, while his master slept in the standard bed with its handsome canopy. This custom was widespread in the sixteenth century. The rollicking host of the Garter in the *Merry Wives of Windsor* describes Falstaff's room as follows :—" There's his chamber, his house, his castle, his standing bed and truckle bed "; and Bishop Hall in his *Toothless Satires* makes the trencher-chaplain

lie upon the truckle-bed
Whiles his young maister lieth o'er his head.

Even as late as Butler's day, the thing was still in use :

When Hudibras, whom thoughts and aking
'Twixt sleeping kept all night and waking,
Began to rub his drowsy eyes,
And from his couch prepared to rise,
Resolving to despatch the deed
He vow'd to do, with trusty speed ;
But first, with knocking loud and bawling,
He roused the squire, in truckle lolling.

Mention may here be made of a custom of our ancestors which appears to us singularly unbecoming—

* *The Boke of Curtasye*, pp. 307, 308.

that is, the "naked bed." So universal was the custom that, in the *Roman de la Violette*, the Lady Oriant excites the surprise of her duenna by going to bed in a chemise, and is obliged to explain her reason for so singular a practice, which is a desire to conceal a mark on her body.* In some moral lines in the *Reliquiae Antiquae* (ii. 15) against pride, the ladies are



FIG. 12.—A BED OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

told that, however gay may be their clothing during the day, they will lie in bed at night as naked as they were born.

Sometimes, as early as the fourteenth century, a bath-room was attached to the bedchamber in the houses of great nobles, but more often a big tub with a covering like a tent was used.

* Wright's *The Homes of Other Days*, p. 269.

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In *Sir Bevys of Hampton* we learn that

In to chamber she gan him take,
And riche bathes she let him make;

and Froissart records that

among other places, these men of Ghent destroyed at Marle a house belonging to the Earl of Flanders, containing the chamber where he was born, the font in which he had been baptized, and his cradle, which was of silver. They also beat to pieces and carried away the bathing tub wherein he had been washed.

The four-post bed held undisputed sway in England as the favourite form for three or four centuries, and it is not so very many years since it was deposed from that position. Abroad there were more frequent changes of fashion in respect to the bedstead. Mons. Jacquemart, in his *History of Furniture*, writes :

The bed, placed under a canopy and on a platform, had its head to the wall, and was accessible on both sides ; the head-board alone and the pillars were visible to the eye with their sculptures ; all the rest was drapery ; at first the curtains used to be drawn, then came the fashion of the bedsteads, *façon d'impériale*, of which the curtains lifted up. There was even a time when the hangings invaded the pillars of the bedsteads, which were surrounded by chossettes (sheaths of drapery). These pillars were to disappear later on, under Louis XIV. ; the canopy was to be suspended, allowing all the foot of the bed to be seen ; and it was then that the bedside became the rendezvous of pleasant company, bringing the latest news, and sometimes scandalous gossip. In the time of Henry IV. we see the alcove appear, tending to replace the canopied bedstead ; in the salle of the Louvre, where the dying monarch was carried, the curtains are represented in sculpture and borne by genii. The balustrade still exists in front of the platform on which the bed rests.

Although the tester, half-tester, and four-post bedsteads were common, some persons entirely dispensed with hangings, and this was especially the case among recluses, as may be seen by reference to miniatures in old manuscripts and to early engravings.

The bed of Ware, which still exists, is a good example of the great size of many of the state bedsteads. In days when money was carried about by its owner, and hidden away in all manner of out-of-the-way corners, secret receptacles were often fixed in the bedsteads. Roger Twysden relates that on the 21st of August, 1485, Richard III. arrived at Leicester. His servants had preceded him with the running wardrobe, and in the best chamber of the "Boar's Head" a ponderous four-post bedstead was set up; it was richly carved, gilded, and decorated, and had a double bottom of boards. Richard slept in it that night. After his defeat and death on Bosworth Field it was stripped of its rich hangings, but the heavy and cumbersome bedstead was left at the "Blue Bear." In the reign of Elizabeth, when the hostess was shaking the bed she observed a piece of gold, of ancient coinage, fall on the floor; this led to a careful examination, when the double bottom was discovered, upon lifting a portion of which the interior was found to be filled with gold, part coined by Richard III. and the rest of earlier times.

Queen Elizabeth was fond of good bedding, and the following wardrobe warrant, dated 1581 (B.M. Add. MS. 5,751, fol. 38), is of considerable interest in proving this. It orders the delivery, for the Queen's use, of a bedstead of walnut tree, richly carved, painted, and gilt. The selour, tester, and vallance were of cloth of silver, figured with velvet, lined with changeable taffeta, and deeply fringed with Venice gold, silver, and silk. The curtains were of costly tapestry, curiously and elaborately

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worked, every seam and every border laid with gold and silver lace, caught up with long loops and buttons of bullion. The head-piece was of crimson satin of Bruges, edged with a passamayne of crimson silk, and decorated with six ample plumes, containing seven dozen ostrich feathers of various colours, garnished with golden spangles. The counterpoint was of orange-coloured satin, quilted with cut work of cloths of gold and silver, of satins of every imaginable tint, and embroidered with Venice gold, silver spangles, and coloured silks, fringed to correspond, and lined with orange sarsenet.* The next illustration (Fig. 12), of a foreign bedchamber, is taken from a print by Aldergraver, dated 1553.

Such gorgeous beds as these were the glories of our palaces, and the heavy furniture and nodding plumes are familiar to us in pictures and in museums of curiosities. Mr. Ashton, in his *Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne*, mentions a bedstead put up as a prize in a lottery, which was said to have cost £3,000.

The best bed was not always to be found in the chamber of the host and hostess, but in the guest-chamber or spare room, which was often adorned with the richest furniture in the house.

Before concluding this section, I will mention the old customs connected with the nuptial bed, and a curious superstition. When the newly-married noble brought his bride home to his castle, they found a costly bed, upon which the maker had expended much pains, and, strange to say, the chamberlain looked upon this bed as his perquisite. He was not, however, averse to receiving a money payment in place of it. In 1297, when the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Edward I., was married to the Earl of Holland, Sir

* Quoted in *Our English Home*, 1860, p. 173.

Peter de Champvent claimed the bridal bed as his fee, and he received a sum of money in lieu thereof. A still grander precedent is found in the claim of Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, to the bed upon which Queen Philippa slept, when she was married to Edward III., as well as her slippers and the lavers in which she washed. The Earl received one hundred marks, and the Queen kept her property. The old custom of putting the bride and bridegroom to bed was sometimes improved upon by sewing the bride up in one of the sheets. Herrick alludes to this in a nuptial song on Sir Clipsey Carew and his lady :

But since it must be done, dispatch and sowe
Up in a sheet your Bride, and what if so, etc.

It is a widespread superstition that no one can die easy in a bed, and from Yorkshire to India the ignorant peasant will take the dying from the bed and lay him on the floor to facilitate the departure of his soul. Mr. Henderson (*Folk-lore of the Northern Counties*) says that this superstition is equally prevalent among Mahomedan and Hindu. In some parts the notion is confined to a peculiarity in the feathers, as that of pigeons or game-fowl. The Russian peasantry have a strong feeling against using pigeons' feathers in beds. They consider it sacrilegious, the dove being the emblem of the Holy Spirit.*

For several centuries the arrangements of the bedroom have remained tolerably uniform, and the four-post bedstead, with its heavy hangings, reigned supreme, but in the nineteenth century a great change was made. The "four-poster" was completely set aside, and in its place the iron bedstead reigns. The heavy hangings were a survival of a time when the walls and doors let in much of the outer

* Henderson, p. 60.

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air, and curtains were required to keep the sleeper warm. In these days of sanitary knowledge, when the cold air is better kept outside the room, and when the need of fresh air (not necessarily cold) while we sleep is now fully realized, these stuffy hangings that may harbour disease and keep us breathing our own vitiated air stand self-condemned. At the same time we are not prepared to say we might not lie in worse quarters than in a bedroom in a country house furnished in the old-fashioned manner.



VI

SOME EARLY BREACH OF PROMISE CASES

By S. R. BIRD, F.S.A.

THERE are, amongst the Early Chancery Proceedings formerly in the Tower of London, a considerable number of Bills of Complaint grounded on an alleged breach of promise, or rather breach of *contract* of marriage, some of which date back as far as the middle of the fifteenth century. At that period, and, indeed, till the passing of the Marriage Act of 26 Geo. II., the solemnization of matrimony, according to the laws of holy church, appears to have been altogether subsidiary to the civil contract or espousals, which often preceded the actual marriage by a considerable period. A pre-contract of this kind was, till the 32nd year of Henry VIII., and again after 2 and 3 Edw. VI., considered an impediment to marriage with any other person; and, until the statute of 26 Geo. II., above referred to, a suit might be brought in the Ecclesiastical Courts to compel a marriage in consequence of such contract.

If a formal betrothal of this kind, to be duly committed to writing and attested, were at the present time declared to be the only legal basis on which an action for breach of promise could rest, a great saving of time to the judicial bench would ensue, and the public would be spared the recital of much of the amorous nonsense with which more or less facetious counsel endeavour to influence a sympathetic jury in assessing

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the amount of damage, from a pecuniary point of view, done to the outraged feelings of many a too seductive or too enterprising damsel. The law reports would, however, then be deprived of one of their most amusing features, and one on which the ordinary newspaper reader seizes with avidity.

That the courts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were not altogether without their sensational trials of a somewhat similar kind appears from the curious records now under review. I have before me copies of four documents, all apparently bearing date between the years 1452 and 1515, which are peculiarly interesting as illustrative of the social life at that period. They show, in fact, that then, as now, amongst a certain class of persons, marriage was regarded principally in the light of a commercial speculation, the bargains made in some of the cases being specified with a minuteness of detail as amusing as it is unromantic. The first of these is a complaint preferred to the Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury, Chancellor of England, between the years 1452 and 1454, by Margaret Gardyner and Alice Gardyner (presumably her daughter), against one "John Keche of Yppeswych," who, in spite of his unpleasantly suggestive name (in these days, at least), appears to have been in considerable demand amongst the fair sex, as, according to their own statement, the said Margaret and Alice agree to pay him the sum of twenty-two marks on condition of his taking the said Alice to wife; but the faithless "Keche," after receiving ten marks from the said Margaret and twelve marks from the said Alice, "*meyning but craft and disceyt*," went and took to wife one Joan, the daughter of Thomas Bloys, *to whom he had been previously assured*, "to the gret disceyt of the said suppliants and ageyne all good reason and conscience"; and although at divers times required by the said suppliants to refund the twenty-two marks,

he persistently refuses so to do ; whereupon they pray for a writ directing him to appear before the king in his Chancery to answer to the premises, which is granted to them accordingly.

The plaintiffs in this suit appear to have regarded the matter purely from a business point of view, for they seek only to recover the money fraudulently obtained from them by the defaulting "Keche," without making any claim for compensation to the lady whose affections had been so cruelly and wantonly disappointed.

In the next instance before us it is the gentleman who is the victim of a too implicit confidence.

In this case the complainant, John Anger, states that he, "of the grett confydence and trust that he bare to one Anne Kent, syngle-woman, entenyng by the mediacion of her friends to have married the said Anne," and upon a full communication and agreement between himself and the friends of the said Anne that a marriage should take place between them, "sufferid the same Anne *to come and goo resort and abide in his house*": after remaining in which for the space of a month and more she departed therefrom without the knowledge of the plaintiff, taking with her "dyvers evydences mynymts and chartres concernyng the seid house and also dyvers juells of the value of *iiiij*li.**" of which, "although oftyntymes requyred" by the plaintiff, she refuses to make restitution; wherefore he prays a writ commanding her to appear on a certain day before the king in his Chancery, &c. Here the parties to the suit appear to have discounted the actual marriage by setting up an experimental household immediately after the conclusion of the marriage contract. Apparently, some "incompatibility of temper," or perhaps the innate fickleness of the "said Anne," induced her to bring the experiment to an

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abrupt conclusion ; in carrying her resolution into effect, however, she committed the mistake of endeavouring to indemnify herself for the error into which she had fallen, or perhaps to vent her displeasure on her quasi-husband, by carrying off with her all the valuables she could lay her hands on. This the quasi-husband appears to have strongly objected to, although he does not make any sentimental grievance of her desertion, and, so long as he recovered his property, was evidently prepared to consider himself well rid of his bargain.

The complaint of "Maister Walter Leinster, Doctour of Phisik," which follows, discloses a very curious story, and affords a striking example of pertinacity in following up an absconding suitor. The primary motive, however, in this, as in the preceding instances, seems to have been merely the recovery of monies actually expended, although the lady's distress of mind and the consequent injury to her health form a moderate item in the schedule of expenses incurred by the unlucky doctor.

In his bill of complaint, addressed to "The right reverend fader in God the Archebusshop of York and Chaunceller of England," the worthy Doctor alleges that "one Maister Richard Narborough, Doctor of Law Sivill, in the moneth of May in the ix. yere of the reigne of the Kyng oure soveraigne Lord (Edward IV.), att Cambrigge in the countie of Cambrigge in the presens of your said oratour," affianced one Lucy Brampton, the daughter-in-law of the said plaintiff, to have her to wife, and the said Lucy affianced the said Richard to have him to her husband ; immediately after which affiance, the said Richard informed the plaintiff and the said Lucy that he would "depart over the see unto Padowe, there to applie his stodye for the space of ij. yeres," at the end of which time he promised to return to England and to "espouse the said

Lucy according to the Law of Holy Chirche," at the same time especially desiring the plaintiff to maintain the said Lucy and a maid-servant to attend upon her, providing them with meat, drink, clothing, and all things necessary, until his return from beyond the sea; when he promised faithfully to repay to the plaintiff all the costs and charges which he had incurred in that behalf; to which the plaintiff agreed, "giffyn full trust and confidence to the promises of the said Maister Richard." The latter, however, departed to "Padowe," and there and in other places absented himself from England for the space of ten years, "to the full grete hurt and hevynes," both of the plaintiff and of the said Lucy, who, together with her maid, was provided by the plaintiff during the whole of that time with meat, drink, clothing, and all other necessities. After the expiration of the ten years the said "Maister Richard" returned to England, and being required by the plaintiff to fulfil the contract of marriage between himself and the said Lucy, and also to reimburse him for the maintenance of her and her maid during his protracted absence, with other "grevous hurtez, costez, and charges," incurred by him, utterly refused to do either, "which is not only to the greate hurt and hevynes of your said besecher, but also to the greate perell and iopardy of soule of the same Maister Richard"; and which sums of money, with other "reasonable considerations" which ought to be paid to the said plaintiff, are set out in a schedule annexed to the plaintiff's bill. And the said Richard having of his own free will bound himself "by his obligation of the Statute of the Stapull" in the sum of £200 to appear before the king in his Chancery on the Holy Trinity next coming, "which shalbe in the yere of oure soveraigne Lord Kyng Edward the iiiijth the xxj," and so from day to day to answer all such matters as shall be

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alleged against him, the plaintiff being fully prepared on such appearance to prove the truth of all the foregoing statements, prays that it may be considered, adjudged and decreed "that the seid Maister Richard Narborough pay and content to your seid oratour all such summez of money as is by your seid oratour for reasonable causes asked, and in the seid Cedule playnly declared." The Schedule referred to, the items in which are very quaintly expressed, is as follows :

Imprimis: For bedde and boorde for Lucy and
hir mayde by the space of x. yere by his
agrement and special desire, payng by y^e
week iijs. iiijd. for them twayne cxxx. marks
Item: For hir arayment verely delivered to hir

Item : For hir arayment yerely delivered to hir,
to buy gownys, kirtells, smokkis, &c. . . . xx. li.

Item : For necessary expences made uppon hir in

Item. For necessary expenses made upon her in
tyme of hir sore and gret sekenes causid thrugh his
onkyndnes and chaungeablenes, ful hard to escape
with lyffe, as al the cuntrey knowith wel; and as
yet apperith on hir, for evir sith she hath ben sekele
thrugh sorowe and pensyffenes whiche she toke for
his newfangles xij. li. xiijs. iiijd.

Item: For diverse expencis made ovir see to
seke hym, at *Loven*, at *Bruges*, at *Gaunt*, and
at *Paddua*, sumtyme by y^e Archedecan of
Northfolke, and by Maystir Edmunde
Wryght, Doctor of Lawe, and diverse other
marchaundes at many tymes, to my gret
troble and charge as it apperith more at large
by billys thereof made xij. li. xvjs

Item: For my costis at many diverse tymes
in comyng from Cambrige to London and
ther abiding and sekyng hym to speke with
hym for the same causis, sumtyme a monythe
and sumtyme more & sumtyme leesse, during
ye time and space of x. yere, to my gret
hurt losse, and trouble xl. li.

Item : For necessary costis & chargis doon and made at this last tyme in the Mayor of London his Coort, and the Shireffs', &c. ; and in condytyng ye seyd Lucy from Cambrige to London at his special desir to speke with hym ; ther abidyng and tarying for remedy of hir gret wrong the space of iij wekys . . . xlviij. xd.

Item : For myn interest and grevous trowble in al the tyme and space of ye said x yere, *whiche God knowyth yef y myght a chosen y wolde not a suffrid for the wyning of ccc. li. and more,* y remit to your noble wisdome, &c. . . .

In the foregoing proceedings, it is worthy of remark that the plaintiff, having affianced his daughter-in-law to an eligible suitor, considers himself thereby relieved from the duty of maintaining her to the same extent as if she were already the wife of the defaulting law-student, which in effect she was. It is to be regretted that the decision of the Lord Chancellor in this interesting case is not, as was at that period frequently the case, endorsed on the bill of complaint. The facts, however, so far as they are put before us, appear to have been clearly against the absconding lover.

Unjustifiable, however, as the defendant's conduct seems to have been, the claim for damages to the unfortunate Lucy represents only the sum actually expended on her in consequence of "hir sore and gret sekenes" caused by his "onkyndnes and chaungeablenes," and makes no pretence to compensation for her shattered hopes and wounded feelings, which in a modern suit of this kind would have been assessed at no inconsiderable figure.

In the fourth of these curious actions, the date of which appears to have been between the years 1504 and 1515, the gentleman is again the plaintiff, and seems, according to his own statement, like the defaulting swain first referred to, to have been considerably

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sought after; both the lady's father and her uncle having used "gret instaunce and labor" to induce him to take her to his affections, although they seem, for some unexplained reason, to have afterwards changed their minds; not, however, before the plaintiff had bestowed on the chosen lady many tokens of affection which, matter-of-fact man that he is, he now seeks to recover, *together with his expenses in going to visit her.*

The plaintiff in this case, one John James, who appears, curiously enough, to have also been a "law-student," alleges that one Thomas Morgan, of Northampton, scribe there to the commissary of the Bishop of Lincoln, and Robert Morgan, his brother, "instantly labored your said besecher to take to wyfe one Elizabeth Morgan, daughter to the said Robert Morgan, with whom your said besecher *suld have in hand by ther promes 100 marks in redy money,*" upon which "*promes, gret instance and labor,*" made to him by the defendants, the plaintiff "resorted to the said Elizabeth to his gret costs and charges." And "thorow the de-saveabull comforde as well of the said Thomas and Robert Morgan, as of the said Elizabeth" delivered to her many tokens—namely, "a ryng of gold with a dyamont"; "a ryng of gold set with certen stones lyke to a dragone's hede"; "a ryng of gold called a serjeant's ryng;" "a crosse of gold with a crucyfyx;" "a ryall in gold;" "a nobull in gold;" "thre pomaunders;" "a rebon of sylke;" "a pyncale of cloth of gold;" with many other small tokens to the value of ten marks and more; "and also was at *gret costs and charges thorow his manyfold journeys taken in that behalf,*" which he estimates at other ten marks. But now the said Thomas and Robert have, "by ther crafty and falce meane," caused the said Elizabeth to take to husband one John Maurice, since which time the

plaintiff hath many times demanded his said tokens, *with his costs and charges*, as well of the said Robert and Thomas as of the said Elizabeth, which "they and every of them at all times hath denayed and yit doth denay, contrary to right and good conscience," and therefore he prays a writ, etc.

So far the plaintiff's story. We now, however, hear quite a different version, for the defendant, Thomas Morgan, after pleading that the matter in dispute is determinable at common law, "by action of detynewe," and not in the Court of Chancery at all, goes on to state that the plaintiff, on a certain "Low Sunday in the third yere of the reigne of our soveraigne Lord the Kyng that nowe is," in a private conversation between them, submitted for his consideration a certain "communication of matrimony" that had taken place between himself and one "Mastres Gray of Bedfordshire"; whereupon he gave it as his opinion that the communication between them "*wold not wey to any contract of matrimony*," and said that, "if he might be credeably enformed that the seyd John James cold clerely discharge hymself of the seyd Mastres Grey, and also were *lykely to be lerned yn the lawe, and of good and substancyall demeanour*," then he would be willing to speak to his brother Robert on his behalf for his daughter Elizabeth. But the plaintiff afterwards stating to the said Thomas that he heard say that the lady in question was contracted to another man, the defendant declined to act any further in the matter, and denies utterly that he ever "labored the seyd John James to take to wyf the seyd Elizabeth," or promised him a hundred marks with her, or endeavoured in any way to bring them together.

Moreover, Elizabeth herself, and her husband, "John Mares," make answer to the plaintiff's bill, pleading that the suit is determinable at common law, and

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denying his allegations *in toto*. According to their version of the affair, the plaintiff, John James, was in the habit of resorting to the house of one "John Bele of Radwell, in the county of Hertford, gentylman," where the said Elizabeth was then staying, and divers times "required her of marriage," whereunto she very properly answered, "that he shuld fyrist move her fadur in that matter, and then he shuld knowe further of her mynd." The said John afterwards informed her that he had spoken to her father, "desyryng his goodwyll in the seyd matter, wych he could yn no wyse opteyne," and asking her to devise a remedy, was told by her "to take no more trouble in the matter, for he would only lose his labour." She further states that "during the tyme he resorted to her," he sent her by John Bele the younger "a ryng lyke a dragon's hede," and by one Anne Farre, "a gold nobull," both of which she refused, but, at their earnest entreaty, agreed to keep them till the plaintiff came again to "Mr. Bele's." He also, during the same period, left with her, "ayenst her wyll," two other rings, a "crosse," a "riall weyng ix s.," a "rebyn," a "pyncale," and "oon pomaunder, a lytell ball of wax covered wyth pomaunders"; which, he said, he freely gave her, "wether ever he might have her or not; but she did not so accept them." She also states that, both before and after her marriage with the said John Mares, she offered to deliver to the plaintiff the aforesaid riall, noble, and one of the said rings, and "cast theym ynto hys sleve;" but he cast them out upon the ground. Since which time the said John Mares has been at all times ready to deliver the said riall, noble, ring, and pomaunder, and has them now in court for that purpose; and the other tokens, with the exception of "the ryng set with a dyamond," and two of the three "pomaunders" which the said Elizabeth states that she never received, have

been already delivered to the plaintiff by the aforesaid John Bele and his wife. And finally, the said Elizabeth denies that she gave the plaintiff any encouragement whatever to resort to her. This action, in fact, seems to have been prompted by the resentment of the rejected lover, and is chiefly remarkable for the business-like manner in which he calculates the costs and charges to which he asserts himself to have been put in the prosecution of his ill-starred suit.

From the documents above quoted, which are fair specimens of a tolerably numerous class, the action for breach of promise of marriage, as we understand it at the present day—that is to say, an action seeking substantial damages as the result of a favourable verdict—appears to have been almost unknown to our ancestors. The specific fulfilment of the contract formally entered into at the betrothal might, however, as has been stated, be compelled in certain cases by an appeal to the Ecclesiastical Courts.

I may add that my attention has been very kindly directed by the Rev. J. T. Fowler, F.S.A., to the report of a case concerning a pre-contract of marriage, which is printed in the *Acts of the Chapter, etc., of Ripon Cathedral*, edited by himself for the Surtees Society (vol. lxiv., p. 159), and in which very interesting details are given by the witnesses as to the words and manner of the contract.

VII

WITCHCRAFT IN THE SIXTEENTH
CENTURY

THE records of witchcraft are among the most painful and the most curious of past times. How terribly the superstition worked upon the minds of the poorer class is shown by the fearful experiences which they had to undergo; how the upper classes were impressed is shown by such curious cases as Mistress Jane Shore and Dr. Fian. But there is something much more important than even these details of the workings of witchcraft—namely, the consideration as to how very nearly it became a power in the land with a recognized priesthood and cult, and with votaries and believers among all classes. Mr. Keary, in his *Origin of Primitive Belief*, has ably touched upon this side of the question, and it is a side which to the scientific spirit of the present age is one of deep and curious significance in the history of civilization. All branches of folk-lore now are recognized to be of scientific value, but the recognition has been tardy and partial. In the branch relating to witchcraft, however, it has very long been recognized that no inquirer into the history of man in civilized Europe during the Middle Ages can afford to ignore the influence of witchcraft in the moulding of events.

Perhaps the most curious book in the English language upon witchcraft is Reginald Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, first published in 1584, "imprinted by William Brome," and reprinted in 1886, edited by

Dr. Brinsley Nicholson. Copies of the first edition have long been scarce. One sold for twenty guineas at a sale in 1885.* Other editions were issued, that of 1651—"printed by R. C., and are to be sold by Giles Calvert"—being, next to the first edition, the most curious. But after this date the book has never been reproduced. The rarity of the first edition is perhaps to be accounted for by the fact that James I. had a great many copies of it burnt.

Scot is most curious in the information he gives about those who believed in and practised witchcraft, and his book is a mine of wealth to those who interest themselves in this subject. "They can raise spirits, drie up springs, turne the course of running waters, inhibit the sunne, and staie both day and night, changing the one into the other. They can go in and out at auger-holes, and saile in an egge-shell, a cockle or mussel shell, through and under the tempestuous seas. . . . They can teare snakes in peeces with words, and with looks kill lambes. . . . They can also bring to passe that, chearne as long as you list, your butter will not come." It is not to be supposed that old Scot agrees with all this. Some curious observations are interspersed up and down the book, which is, of course, written against the prevailing belief in witchcraft, showing in quaint, dry humour how thoroughly the author laughed at the superstition he was endeavouring to disprove. "But in this case a man may saie," he says, referring to the passage above quoted about killing lambs with looks, etc., "that miranda canunt sed non credenda poetæ."

Scot quotes largely from Bodin's *De Daemoniis*, and in a curious passage describing the assemblages of

* Another copy in 1905 fetched £27 10s.; but an average price for a sound copy in fair condition is from £15 to £18.
—EDITOR.

witches, says : “ Here some of Monsieur Bodin’s lies may be inserted, who saith that at these magical assemblies, the witches never faile to danse ; and in their danse they sing these words :

Har, Har,
Divell, divell,
Danse here,
Danse here,
Plaie here,
Plaie here,
Sabbath, Sabbath ;

and whiles they sing and danse, everie one hath a broome in her hand and holdeth it up aloft. Item he saith that these night-walking or rather night-dancing witches brought out of Italie into France that danse which is called *La volta*. ”

Often does Scot indulge in sly sarcasms against the doings of the day, and the next passage to the above gives a good example of this : “ A part of their league is to scrape off the oily which is received in extreame follie (unction I should have said). ”

Witchcraft became much used to obtain the nefarious ends of a licentious nobility or wealthy merchant princes, and this is the largest and most instructive portion of Scot’s book. He tells story after story, often as entertaining as those given in Boccaccio, and very little better in their method of thoroughly unveiling the corruptness of the times in which he wrote ; and Scot has to exclaim of more than one story that he relates, that as for the lewdness, neither of the writers who support the existence of witchcraft “ doo once so much as speake in the dispraise thereof.”

His fourth book is devoted to stories dealing with such matters ; and he prefixes to it a curious “ request to such readers as loath to heare or read filthie and

bawdie matters (which of necessitie are heere to be inserted) to passe over eight chapters." All these stories are extremely amusing, but they serve only as evidence, already pretty well accumulated, of the growing evils which priestcraft and other powers were exercising upon the minds of a credulous and ignorant people. "O, excellent peece of witchcraft or couisening wrought by the holie bishop Sylvanus!" exclaims Scot, after one of the stories.

Some of the stories told as witch stories are of more general interest. Thus we get the Legend of Tel in the story of Pumher: "One souldier [who] dailie through witchcraft killed with his bowe and arrowes three of the enimies as they stood peeping over the walles of a castell besieged: so as in the end he killed them all quite saving one. . . . This was he that shot at a pennie on his sonnes head and made readie another arrow to have slaine the duke Remgrave that commanded it."

There are other scraps of folk-lore to be obtained from this book. The visit of Incubus or his cousin Robin Goodfellow at night and their sweeping the kitchen is a well-known piece of fairy-lore. All goes well until the maids in mistaken kindness laid some "clothes for him besides his messe of white bread and milke which was his standing fee; for in that case he saith :

What have we here?
Hemton hamten,
Here will I never more
Tread nor stampen."

One very curious section of the book is devoted to the art of juggling, and it shows how the people were deceived by the most transparent devices. One of these tricks is "to thrust a bodkin through your toong and a knife through your arme—a pitifull sight—with-

out hurt or danger"; and the quaint marginal note says: "A forme or patterne of this bodkin or knife you shal see described if you turne over a few leaves forward" (Fig. 1). The block here used by Scot we reproduce, and it shows the device by which, by means of a peculiarly made knife, it was made to appear that a cut had been produced. "The hethermost is the bodkin w^t the bowt; y^e middlemost is the bodkin with

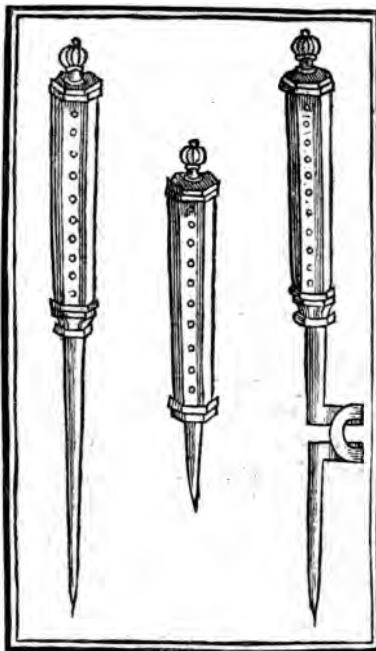


FIG. I.

the holow haft; the furthermost is the plain bodkin serving for shew," says Scot in explanation; and in another place he quaintly observes, "And the wound will appeare to be more terrible if a little bloud be powred thereupon." A more elaborate trick was "to cut off one's head and to laie it in a platter which the jugglers call the decollation of John the Baptist." This

is also exposed by Scot, both in his text and by means of an illustration, which, we think, will be acceptable to our readers (Fig. 2). There is no necessity, indeed, to quote Scot's description of the trick, as the curious block explains it fully. One could go on quoting such interesting memorials of past social life from this curious old work, but enough has been said, we think, to point out some of its chief peculiarities.

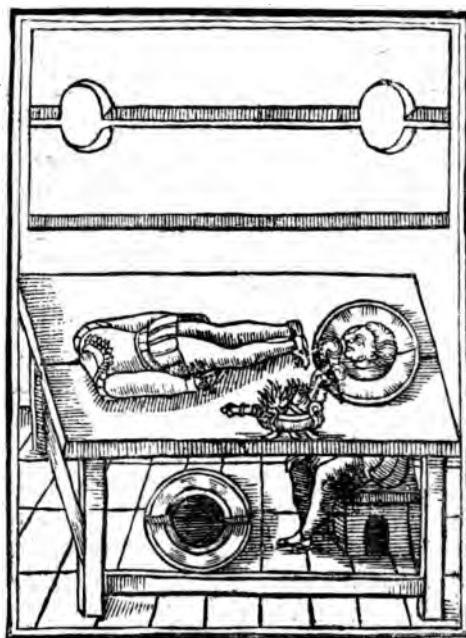


FIG. 2.

Dr. Nicholson discovered some interesting facts about Scot's life, and these were recorded in the introduction to his 1886 edition of the *Discoverie of Witchcraft*. Scot was a gentleman of Kent, and was educated at Oxford. He was twice married—first, to Jane (not Alice) Cobbe; and secondly, to Alice (Collyar?), a widow, whom he left a widow.

VIII

A LINCOLNSHIRE PARISH CLERK IN THE OLDEN TIME

BY THOMAS NORTH, F.S.A.

IN addition to the careful preservation of parish registers, a word may well be said for that of churchwardens' accounts and other parochial muniments. Such documents, where preserved, can scarcely be considered as inferior to the registers in illuminating, through local events, the broad page of national history. But how few are preserved! A somewhat careful inquiry, for literary purposes, in the parishes of four contiguous counties, has proved to me that in few places are such documents preserved from a date anterior to the eighteenth century. In some instances I have learned that ancient churchwardens' accounts have been destroyed as worthless, or as cumbersome waste paper, and so to be cleared out as worse than worthless.

Sometimes is found in the parish chest a scrap of paper which tells of obsolete customs and abrogated practices. Such a sheet of paper has just been placed in my hands by the Vicar of Barrow-on-Humber for inspection, whilst seeking examples of the "Peculiar Uses" of the church bells of Lincolnshire in past times. I think *The Antiquary* a proper depository for a full copy of such a document:

"THE OFFICE AND DUTY OF THE PARISH CLARK OF
BARROW, AS RECORDED IN THE TOWN'S BOOK, 1713.

First, he is to live in the parish; and he is to attend the Church when he is to Officiate in his functions.

He ought Carefully to lay up the Communion Cloth and Carpet, the Surplice, Cushion, Books, and other things belonging to the Church; he is to see that the Church, Chancel, and Seats be swept and kept in decent order; he ought to attend the Church when there is any Churchin or Burrial; and he is to tole a Bell, and ring a little according to the Custom of the place; he must be Carefull that no Boys or Idle persons Jangle the Bells or abuse the Church or the Windows; he is to grease or oil the Bells, and to keep them in good order, and if they be defected in anything he shall let the Churchwardens know that they may be mended in convenient time.

Item.—He is to ring a Bell every working day from Monday, the first whole week in Lent, until Easter, except such days as there is prayers in the Church.

Item.—He is to ring a Bell every working day morning at Break of the day, and continue the ringing thereof until All Saints, and also to ring a Bell every Evening about the sunsetting until harvist be fully ended, which Bells are to begin to ring from the beginning of harvist.

Item.—He is to provide and pay a workman for mowing and strawing upon the Westcote 14 acre dale, and to see the ordering and bringing to the Church before midsomer day; and to pay the waineman Leading thereof for every Load four pence. He is to give notice to the owner or farmer or oqupier of the Westcote about a week before Christmas and Easter, that he, before Either of those feasts, send one Load of straw to the Church Stile, where the Clark shall receive it, and take Care to Lay it in the Seats; and in Like-manner to pay the wainman for Every Load four-pence, which strawing and straw shall at last belong to the clark.

Item.—He is to ring a Bell for the ringing of the Corphew (*sic*) beginning at St. Andrew's Eve, and ending at Candlemas; and to provide Candles for the ringers, and Continue in the Bellhouse all the time of ringing, and be Carefull that nothing there suffer abuse or Damage."

“THE CLARKS FEE AND WAGES AS RECORDED IN THE
TOWN'S BOOK.

“First He is to receive at Easter for every plough Land 8d., and after that rate for Every greater or lesser quantity of Land. Likewise of Every Cottager, except of such as receive Collection, threepence.

Likewise he is to have for Every plow-land for ringing the nine o'clock Bell, the four o'clock Bell, the day Bell, and the night Bell, two pecks of wheat or misheldine, and after that rate for Every greater or lesser quantity of Land.

He is to have for Every Weding or marriage within the Parish, sixpence: and for Every passing Bell fourpence, and for Every Soul Bell fourpence.

If the friends of any deceased person desire to have the great bell rung a Little before the Corpse is brought to the Church, the Clark for his ringing the said Bell shall have one shilling.

If any person wilfully or Carelessly overturn a Bell the Clark may demand of him one shilling for the offence, which if he refuse to pay the Clark may sue for it in the Court, and be by the parishioners indamnified therein.”

In this document we have, after provision made for the care-taking of the bells, an order for ringing of a bell twice daily (at the hours of 9 a.m. and 4 p.m.—that is, at the accustomed hours of Mattins and Even-song, as we learn from an undated “Survey” relating to the Vicarage) during Lent, on such days as prayers were not said in the church; meaning, I suppose, that such an echo of neglected services need not be heard on the Litany and Holydays when the service would actually be said at, probably, a later hour in the forenoon; then we have an order for the ringing of the harvest bell at daybreak to call the reapers to their work; the ringing of the Curfew is next ordered; and then, not only the ringing of the real passing-bell, according to ancient practice, is mentioned, but the

ringing of the soul-bell, which, in this case, appears to refer to the peal after death in obedience to the Canon ; and, lastly, the tolling of the great bell is allowed before a funeral.

Apart from the bells, we are reminded of the old custom of placing hay in the seats to keep the feet of the worshippers warm during Divine Service.

The "fees" payable to the clerk, and the mode of collecting them, are worthy of note.

The sexton—as we learn from the "Survey" already alluded to—received for every grave with a coffin six-pence, without a coffin threepence. "The said sexton receiveth of every householder one penny for making up the churchyard fences, and four shillings and four pence by the year from the Churchwardens for Dogg Whipping."

IX

A FAMILY STORY OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

BY THE REV. B. HALE WORTHAM.

IN the year 1535 died Sir George Hervey, a Bedfordshire knight who had gained great credit in the French wars. He appears to have been possessed of considerable property—manors, lands, and tenements in the counties of Huntingdon, Bedford, Buckingham, Hertford, and Oxford. His chief seat, however, was Thurley in Bedfordshire, where his ancestors had lived since the days of Edward I., when John Hervey married Joan, daughter and heiress to John Harman, of Thurley. Six generations lived and died, when, in the reign of Henry VIII., the family of Hervey was represented by the Sir George whom we have already alluded to and Thomas Hervey, his younger brother. Thomas Hervey appears to have done pretty well for himself, as he married Jane Drury, the heiress of Ickworth, and became the progenitor of that branch of the family whose head is the Marquess of Bristol. George Hervey, the elder brother, also married an heiress—Elizabeth, daughter and heir to one John Stamford; but probably this match was far inferior to the other in point of possessions, although Elizabeth Stamford was the representative of several families of position in Bedfordshire and the neighbouring counties. Sir George Hervey had two children, a son apparently called Nicholas, whose name does not occur in any

contemporary visitations, and a daughter whose name was Elizabeth, and who was twenty-four years of age in 1527. Elizabeth married Sir Edward Wanton, a member of a very ancient family in the eastern counties, and which, in the person of Valentine Wanton, of Great Staughton, in Huntingdonshire, afterwards provided one of the judges who sat on the trial of King Charles I.

But to go back to Sir George Hervey and his wife and daughter, on whom the whole story turns.

Sir George Hervey, in addition to the son and daughter who have been already noticed, had an illegitimate son by one Margaret, the wife of William Smart, who is styled Gerard Hervey. This Margaret seems to have been Sir George Hervey's cousin. In 1535 Sir George Hervey died, and it was then found that he had by his will bequeathed the whole of his possessions to this Gerard, and had entirely excluded his other two children, Nicholas, and Elizabeth, the wife of Sir Edward Wanton.

What took place then is not very evident; but it would seem that George Wanton, in right of his mother Elizabeth, laid claim to the property of Sir George Hervey, and that Gerard Hervey took proceedings in Chancery against him, to compel the execution of the late Sir George's will. Various interrogatories on the part of Gerard Hervey were put in against George Wanton, and witnesses were examined. It is quite clear that the side opposed to Gerard Hervey considered the will had been made by Sir George under the undue influence of Margaret Smart. To understand and appreciate the answers of the witnesses, it is necessary to glance at the questions.

The substance of them was as follows:

First, whether Sir Walter Luke and Thomas Fitzhugh, and a certain Colbeke, were the legal advisers

with whose help Sir George Hervey made his will in favour of his son Gerard. Whether the handwriting were Colbeke's, and the interlining (or interlined words) were in the hand of Sir Walter Luke. Whether the seal were Sir George Hervey's seal. Whether Sir George Hervey suffered a recovery of his lands or not. By whose hand was the deed written giving possession of the land, and by whose hand was it endorsed? Whether the will in question were ever revoked. In whose favour was the will revoked?

Such is generally the tenor of the interrogatories put on the part of Gerard Hervey.

To answer them five witnesses are brought forward: four of them knights in the same position and rank of life as Sir George Hervey himself, the fifth a yeoman living on the estate at Thurley, who had been in Sir George Hervey's service.

Now, the reason alleged for the disinheriting of Nicholas and Elizabeth, the son and daughter of Sir George Hervey, was this: that they were not his children. Whether he had openly said so in his lifetime is not evident; probably, however, he mentioned his doubts to only a few intimate friends. Had Elizabeth and Nicholas been openly disowned, and clearly proved not to have been Sir George Hervey's issue in his lifetime, it seems unlikely that they would have attempted to make good their position after his death. Gerard Hervey, on the other hand, was not only illegitimate, but he was Sir George Hervey's son by somebody else's wife. About this there was no doubt. It was evident, then, that Sir George Hervey had preferred to leave his estates, which were considerable, to his illegitimate son, rather than to a son or a daughter who, as he asserted, were his wife's children, but not his.

However, the friends of Sir George Hervey, whom

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Gerard summoned as witnesses in his favour, may now be brought forward to speak for themselves.

First we have Edmond Bray, Knight, Lord Braye of Eaton, who states

that he knew not that the said Sir George did make and declare his last will by the persuasion of Margaret Smart ; . . . he only knew that the said Sir George Hervey, about four or five days before his death, as he was riding homeward from London, came to the place of this deponent, called Eyton in Bedfordshire, and continued there one night, and anon after his coming thither, the said Sir George broke his mind to this deponent in this wise and effect following : " Mr. Braye, may I trust you to be my faithfull friend in such thing as I shall put you in trust and desire you to do for me ? " To whom this deponent answered that he would do the best that lay in him to do, and then the said Sir George showed this deponent that he had been at London, and that he had made a recovery of his lands, and other assurance, as strong as his counsel could devise, to the intent that the said Gerard Hervey, whom he named then his bastard son, should have and enjoy the same after his decease, and desired this deponent that he, the said Gerard Hervey, should and might have the good will and helpe of this deponent whensoever it should chance the said Sir George to die.

Sir William Parr, of Horton, Northamptonshire, is the next witness, and an executor to the will in question. Probably he was rather more intimate with Sir George Hervey than the former witness, for, after stating something very similar to the foregoing, he proceeds to say that

when he perceived that the said Sir George was minded to give away his inheritance from one Elizabeth, the wife of Edward Wanton, which was supposed to be the daughter and heir of the said Sir George, this deponent persuaded and laboured the said Sir George, before the marriage of

the said Elizabeth, to be good to the said Elizabeth ; and as this deponent and the said Sir George had familiar communication thereof, the said Sir George declared to this deponent that the said Elizabeth was not the daughter of the said Sir George . . . and utterly refused to leave any of his inheritance unto the said Elizabeth, but was always minded and determined at all times that this deponent had communication with him therein that the said Gerard should have his said inheritance, and for further declaration of the mind of the said Sir George in this behalf, this deponent sayeth that 10 or 12 days, or thereabout, before the death of the said Sir George, this deponent was eftsoone in hand again with the said Sir George that he should be good unto Nich. Harvey ; to whom the said Sir George answering this deponent, showed him of a displeasure that was grown between him and the said Nicholas, and said that he had given him a dash with a pen, and that he should never have groat of him ; and that he was present when the late Abbess of Elstowe, Aunt unto the said Sir George, instanted and moved the said Sir George to be good unto the said Elizabeth, whereunto the Sir George utterly refused to do her any manner of good, saying that she was not his daughter ; . . . and this deponent sayeth that he knoweth not whether the said Sir George declared his said last will by the persuasion of Margaret Smart.

Sir John Dyve, of Bromham, Bedfordshire, witnesses to nearly the same effect as the foregoing. He also speaks of "the displeasure that was grown" between Sir George and Nicholas his son, for which, "as he said, he had stricken him out of his will." He appears also to have been the confidant of Sir George Hervey's opinion as to the illegitimacy of Elizabeth, his reputed daughter.

Sir Robert Lee, of Quarington, Buckinghamshire, goes further than any of the former witnesses, and after stating that Sir George Hervey had showed him

that Nicholas and Elizabeth were not his children, volunteered the statement that

by diverse likelihood that he hath heard and conceived therein, he thinketh in his conscience that the mother of the said Elizabeth was very light of her conversation.

He is, like the former witnesses, unable to say what influence Margaret Smart had or had not used with regard to the will.

The last witness questioned is William Barr, of Thurley, in the county of Beds, yeoman. He asserts that he was servant to Sir George Hervey, and was brought up with him fourteen years before his death. He seems to have been on specially intimate terms with Sir George Hervey, and to have been informed by him as to the exact way in which Sir George meant to dispose of his property. He asserts that Sir George Hervey

took him apart as he was riding to a place called Attilburgh, and that he said, "I have given unto my cousin, Margaret Smart, my rent going out of Fleetmarston and Blackgrove, which is in value by year £10 6s. 8d., during her life, and after her death the remainder thereof shall go to Gerard her son, which Gerard I have made my heir of all my lands and tenements which are in the counties of Huntingdon, Bedford, Buckingham, Hertford, and Oxford," . . . showing at that time to this deponent of a displeasure that was grown between him and Nich. Hervey for which he had stricken out the said Nicholas.

Such are the testimonies of all the five witnesses, all, with whatever differences, agreeing in the main point, that Sir George Hervey had clearly intended by his last will and testament to make Gerard Hervey his heir, to the exclusion of Nicholas and Elizabeth.

In accordance with the will, and with the testimony of those who were best qualified to pronounce upon

Sir George Hervey's intentions, the Court of Chancery decided that Gerard Hervey was entitled to succeed to the estates specified. At the same time, no opinion is pronounced upon the legitimacy or otherwise of Nicholas and Elizabeth. To decide such a point as this far stronger evidence would have been needful. Sir George doubtless had the legal right to dispose of his property as he would, though by so doing he might be acting unjustly; but the mere expression of his opinion, still less repeated second-hand after his death, would not be sufficient to pronounce those to be illegitimate whom he had apparently never openly pronounced illegitimate in his lifetime. As a matter of fact, the legitimacy of Nicholas and Elizabeth never was disputed; and in the College of Arms may be seen the armorial bearings of Hervey, quartered by the descendants of Elizabeth, the daughter and heir of Sir George Hervey.

X

THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF FRENCH
PROTESTANTS IN AMERICA

By W. NOEL SAINSBURY.

I.

MANY noble families now resident in America are proud of claiming descent from the French Protestants who went over there nearly 250 years ago. A knowledge of the history of their heroic deeds and sacrifices in defence of their lives and religion will leave us in no doubt of the reasons. Their first settlement in America took place in connection with an intended plantation of Carolina nearly thirty years before any actual settlement took place.

It was mainly through the exertions of one of the principal followers of Soubise, Duke de Fontenay, a great leader of the Protestant Reformed religion in France, soon after Charles I. ascended the English throne, that numbers of these families ultimately adopted America as their country.

Antoine de Ridouet, Baron de Sancé, was the name of this promoter of American colonization, and he acted in the capacity of secretary to Soubise during his sojourn in this country.

Soubise was in truth an exile. He had espoused with all the vigour of his character the cause of his fellow Protestant countrymen in France. His perseverance in endeavouring to obtain an acknowledgment of their rights had drawn upon him the wrath of his Sovereign.

The King of France had accused him of acts of rebellion, and, fearing the worst consequences, Soubise had collected at Rochelle a fleet and about 1,500 men eager to espouse his cause and to fight in defence of it. The Dutch lent a willing ear to the solicitations of Soubise for aid, and gave him all the assistance they could. Ships, men, and war material were speedily furnished, and Soubise, flushed with success, was eager to give a practical proof of his sincerity and his courage.

A battle was the consequence, and the defeat of the French King's fleet the result. But the brilliant hopes of Soubise were unhappily of short duration. Louis XIII., worsted by a portion of his own subjects, determined to put forth his strength; so Rochelle was proclaimed in a state of siege, and the besiegers were soon reduced to the last extremities. In his despair Soubise applied to England; he begged King Charles to come to his assistance; he urged that himself and his followers had fought in defence of their common faith; that the very existence of the Protestant religion in France, and with it the lives of his followers, depended upon the issue of the struggle; and he entreated the Protestant King to assist a Protestant people. He succeeded in enlisting the sympathy of the English Court, if not entirely that of the English people, who were at this time so much occupied with their own grievances.

The Duke of Buckingham, then Lord High Admiral of England, was favourable to the cause, and through his power and influence Soubise was promised assistance. After some delay, a few English ships were made ready, and under the immediate command of Buckingham sailed to the relief of Rochelle. The result, however, was disastrous in the extreme, and fatal to the ambitious hopes of the great French Protestant leader.

He was in turn worsted by the French King's fleet. The English ships, indifferently manned and badly commanded, were of little or no avail, and Soubise, disappointed of his last chance of success, had no alternative but to take refuge in England with the remnant of his followers. Most of these, maintained for a time by the English Government, were soon reduced to the greatest distress. Many, it is supposed, went over to the Spaniards, others to the West Indies, and some sailed for America. Of these last we wish to speak.

De Sancé, who was a devoted follower of Soubise, and accompanied him in his flight to England, had previously been very active in protecting the interests of his Protestant countrymen fugitives. To many petitions from these distressed men to the Privy Council, De Sancé had written certificates that the petitioners were of the Reformed religion.

Fortunately, at this juncture the Duke of Buckingham stood his friend. At Buckingham's recommendation King Charles granted De Sancé a pension of £100 a year, his estate in France having been confiscated. But this was hardly sufficient for a man who thought not of his own wants alone. True to the principles for which so much had been sacrificed, he used all the influence he possessed for the permanent well-being of his fellow-sufferers, so he petitioned the King for an increase of his pension to £200 a year: his former patron, the Duke of Buckingham, had by this time fallen by the knife of an assassin. He likewise prayed for letters of denization, as himself and family had resolved to live in England. This is the letter he wrote:

MONSIEUR,

Le désir que j'ay de servir Sa Majesté et me retirer en ce pais issy avec ma famille et tout ce que j'ay en France

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aussy pour faire habituer des franssois protestans en Virginie pour y planter des vignes, olives, faire des soyes, et du sel me fait vous suplier tres humblement d'obtenir de Sa Majesté quil luy plaise m'honorer de letres de gentilhomme de sa chambre privée. Avec lettres de Denison pour moy et mon fils. Et quil luy plaise donner ordre à Monseigneur l'Ambassadeur qui ira en France d'obtenir comme ayant l'honneur d'estre son domestique, liberté et sureté pour moy avec la jouissance de mon bien afin que par ce moyen et soubs la faveur de sa Majesté je puisse issy faire transporter ma famille et mon bien pour estre plus prest à servir sa Majesté et vous aussy mon seigneur.

SANCÉ.

[To Lord Dorchester,
H.M. Secretary of State.]

His chief object in writing this letter was that he might be enabled to carry out the idea he had formed of inducing the French Protestant refugees to seek a permanent home on the continent of America. There he felt sure his unhappy Protestant countrymen would be free to follow their own religion in safety and in peace; there they would be able to embark in pursuits congenial to their tastes, and forget in healthful occupations the deadly struggle for religious freedom in which they had been so long engaged; and there also they would find a permanent and a happy home for themselves, their wives and their families. His active mind was ever at work to secure the success of his scheme. Every detail connected with the intended colony was a subject to him of anxious thought; and a calculation of the greatest care. At first he seems to have wished to colonize a considerable tract of land in America, as the extent of territory he demanded was capable of settling more than 20,000 men. In a subsequent paper, however, his plans were evidently more matured; he there proposes that not more than 100 or 150 settlers should be sent over in the first year, and that labourers,

artisans and skilful seamen only should go during the next two or three years.

His proposals met with favour. Articles were agreed upon between the King's Attorney-General and himself, and instructions were drawn out for settling a plantation in Carolina and for the voyage. All the details were at length completed. Every Frenchman wishing to go was to furnish a certificate from his pastor that he was of the Reformed religion; this was essential, and of the utmost importance in the eyes of De Sancé. He also drew out rules for their particular guidance, the exact number that were in the first instance to sail, a minister being at their head, and the duties each would have to perform. Even the provisions they were to carry with them were minutely written down; these were to include the apparel, arms, tools and household implements necessary for one person or for a family; all such charges for fifty men were estimated at £1,000. By some means, however, probably consequent on the internal commotions then unhappily prevailing in England, the final action in this contemplated settlement was delayed, and it was not until April 20, 1630, that "Instructions by way of indenture betwixt His Majesty and Sir Robt. Heath, Knt., Chief Justice of our Court of Common Pleas, to be observed in the plantation of Carolina" were signed, one article of which was "That none shall be willingly admitted or entertained into this plantation which shall not be of the Protestant religion." As all were Frenchmen, and as they could not but remember the persecution and miseries which they had undergone, they no doubt stipulated before quitting England that Roman Catholics should form no portion of their number, or they very naturally thought they would scarcely be allowed to enjoy that tranquillity in the exercise of their religion which had been so distinctly promised to them. A

governor was appointed for the newly intended colony, and everything was in readiness for the voyage, when, at the last stage of this historical drama, "the plantation was hindered, and the voyage frustrated." How this came about we gather from the contents of a petition presented to the Privy Council in 1634, more than four years after these events took place.

From this it appears that these unfortunate French Protestants, fated as it seemed to endure sacrifices and disappointments, were landed in Virginia, where they remained in distress until the following May with no transport to take them to Carolina. The name of the vessel which took them over was the "Mayflower."

The ill success of this expedition was not, however, allowed to pass unnoticed in England. The contractors for the voyage were committed to the custody of a messenger until they were able to answer the complaints against them. The judge of the Admiralty made two formal reports on the subject; and the contractors, Samuel Vassall and Peter Andrews, were ordered to pay upwards of £600 for the losses sustained by the non-fulfilment of their contract.

Thus fell to the ground, for a time at least, the first intended settlement of Carolina, which was neither renewed nor successfully accomplished until nearly thirty years afterwards, when John Locke the great philosopher, at that time Private Secretary to Lord Shaftesbury, was consulted by the lords proprietors of Carolina, and framed the original or first set of the constitutions for the government of the colony. Had this first attempt succeeded, to what fruitful results might it not have led? The intended settlers were men of character, industrious and honourable, who had sacrificed their fortunes and would have sacrificed their lives for their religion. They had fought under Soubise, and were desirous to settle where they could

enjoy their religious opinions undisturbed, and be employed in honest and useful occupations. The cultivation of a rich and fruitful soil, untouched, if not unseen, by any but the native Indians, the planting of the vine, nurturing the silkworm, and similar pursuits, these men were desirous to undertake. But their wishes were frustrated, not through any fault of their own, and the settlement of a fair colony in America delayed, as we have said, for more than a quarter of a century. It is, however, pretty certain that these French Protestants remained in Virginia, and there is evidence that twenty-eight more were sent over through De Sancé's efforts in the "Thomas" to supply the place of any who might die in the "Mayflower." Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that, though his untiring exertions to found the settlement were not successful, De Sancé was mainly instrumental in inducing these French Protestants to adopt America as their home. They were assuredly the first of the large numbers who subsequently did so. All the documents relating to this intended settlement of Carolina will be found in the Colonial Series of State Papers in H.M. Public Record Office.

II.

The paper on the first settlement of French Protestants in America, which is printed above, attracted so much attention that a few months later I jotted down a few more remarks on the same subject, which rendered it necessary to qualify the statement that the French Protestants who were sent out under the auspices of the Baron de Sancé were the first of the large number who subsequently adopted America as their home. For it is evident that nearly ten years before De Sancé conceived the idea of an exodus of French Protestants from England to Carolina, our

ambassador at the Hague was chiefly instrumental in the departure of some sixty French and Walloon families from the United Provinces, "all of the Reformed religion," to the then infant colony of Virginia. Those who are interested in the history of these early emigrations of French Protestants to America, will remember an attempt, about the middle of the sixteenth century, by Admiral Coligny, to found a colony of Huguenots in Florida, and that John Ribault, in 1562, was sent in command of two ships to take them over there.

The first intimation received by King James I. of the desire of certain French and Walloon families to go to Virginia was by letter, from Sir Dudley Carleton to Secretary Sir George Calvert, dated from the Hague, 19th July, 1621, in these words: "Here hath been with me of late a certain Walloon, and inhabitant of Leyden, in the name of divers families, men of all trades and occupations, who desire to go into Virginia, and there to live in the same condition as others of His Majesty's subjects, but in a town or incorporation by themselves; which being a matter of some consideration, I required of him his demands in writing, with the signature of such as were to bear part therein; both which I send your Honour herewith; and howsoever the demands are extravagant in some points, yet if His Majesty like of their going thither, they may be made more capable of the nature of the plantation; to which purpose they will send one (upon the first word they shall have from me of His Majesty's pleasure) expressly to treat with our Company in England."

With this despatch the English ambassador sent two inclosures, the first of which is addressed to "the Lord Ambassador of the most serene King of Great Britain," and has been endorsed by Sir Dudley Carleton, "Suplication of certain Walloons and French who are

desirous to go into Virginia." The original of this is in French, and is signed by Jesse de Forest. It may be abstracted as follows: "That His Maj. will permit fifty or sixty families, as well Walloons as French, all of the reformed religion, to settle in Virginia, and protect them and maintain them in their religion. As said families would consist of nearly 300, they wish to take a quantity of cattle as well for husbandry as for their support, and ask His Majesty to accommodate them with one ship, supplied with cannon and other arms. That they may select a spot fit for their settlement, from the places not yet cultivated, erect a town for their security, with fortifications, and elect a Governor and Magistrates. That His Majesty furnish them with cannon and ammunition, and grant them, in case of necessity, the right to make powder, bullets, &c. That His Maj. grant them a territory of eight English miles all round—*i.e.*, sixteen miles in diameter—to be held from His Maj. with reservation of inferior Seignorial rights, privilege of exclusive hunting and fishing, &c. That my Lord Ambassador would expedite said privileges in due form as soon as possible, that they may be ready to embark by March next, the convenient season." A translation of this "Supplication" is printed in *Documents relating to the History of New York*, vol. iii., pp. 9, 10. But Carleton's second inclosure, "The Promise of certain Walloons and French to emigrate to Virginia," has never yet been printed that I am aware of, and it is by far the most interesting of the two. This also is in French, and in the form of a Round Robin, the signature and calling of the head of each family being appended, the person signing stating in an outer circle whether he is married, and the number of his children, some having only signed their marks. The grand total is 227, of whom 55 are men, 41 women, 129 children, and 2 servants.

In the centre of the large sheet of paper upon which all these signatures appear is written, in French:—
“We promise my Lord Ambassador of the Most Serene King of Great Britain to go and inhabit in Virginia, a land under His Majesty’s obedience, as soon as conveniently may be, and this under the conditions to be carried out in the articles we have communicated to the said Ambassador, and not otherwise, in the faith of which we have unanimously signed this present with our sign manuals.”

Within a month the Secretary of State replied to the English Ambassador that he had moved the king concerning the overture made for planting in Virginia, and that His Majesty was pleased to refer the proposition to the Council of Virginia, whose answer he inclosed, with leave, if Carleton thought fit, to show it to the French and Walloons, “and as they like the Answer they may resolve to proceed or desist.”

The Virginia Company, in their answer, said they did not conceive any inconvenience, provided the number did not exceed 300, and that they took the oath of allegiance to the King, and conformed to the rules of government established in the Church of England. Land would be granted to them in convenient numbers in the principal cities, boroughs, and corporations in Virginia.

In a record of the proceedings of the Virginia Company will be found a letter to the Governor of Virginia, telling him that the Company had considered the propositions of certain French and Walloons to inhabit in Virginia, and “have returned to them so fine answer as we consider they will resolve to go;” that there will be sixty families, consisting of about 300 persons, and that he may expect them coming about next spring.

In another letter, dated 11th of Sept. 1621, the

Virginia Company advise the Governor that the "Dutie" will take over "store of silke worme seed and abundance of vine plants;" and they request that "a straight charge be given for the preserving of vines and mulberry trees," adding that "because the skill of handling them is only derived from the Frenchmen, we cannot but here recommend this to your favour and regard, that they may be kindly used and cherished."

XI

SOME WORDS ON THE MACE

BY LLEWELLYNN JEWITT, F.S.A.

I.

THE Mace, it may safely be affirmed, besides being undoubtedly the most usual, is one of the earliest symbols of authority in use in England, and one that has played no trifling part in the events of our national history. Originally a weapon of defence and for the enforcing of obedience, it became, like the sceptre, a symbol, a sign, and an evidence of the power and authority of the person in whom that power was, for the time, vested.

Without for a moment entering upon the consideration of the origin and growth of municipal institutions, or of corporate offices and dignities—which is a subject quite beside my present purpose—it will be sufficient to say that, whether these be of Roman or Saxon origin, or are simply the outgrowth of primitive agricultural or other industrial communities, the head man, as a matter of necessity, must have some distinguishing mark or badge by which he might be known and his authority made manifest. Whether Mayor, Portreeve, Bailiff, Warden, or what not—by whatever name he was called, or by whomsoever appointed or elected, whether by the “lord” of the place, the “more discreet of the inhabitants,” or even by the king himself—this head man had, as a matter of sheer necessity, to be furnished with some symbol, sign, or

badge of official power and dignity by which he might be known, his authority asserted, and his power and position respected.

However humble his ordinary occupation, however low the state of his education and attainments, however mean might be his origin and position, and however much he might be wanting in natural dignity, the symbol of his office gave him authority and power, and placed him, for the time being, far above his neighbours in importance. No matter how superior to him in moral, social, or educational condition, or of how much higher status in birth and family and rights of property some inhabitants of a town or district might be, the man they chose as Mayor, or Portreeve, or whatever his designation might be, at once stepped, by virtue of that office, over their heads and became "your worship,"—showing sometimes "airs" enough to sicken the better and more thoughtful classes of the people, without the "graces" that ought to attach themselves to the holders of the office. It was, indeed, quite essential that some "outward and visible sign" (alas! often without the "inward and spiritual grace") of office should be held by the individual, for without it there was nothing to indicate who *was* at the head of affairs of the locality. To "bring out the mace" or other insignia was, therefore, enough to show that authority was vested in the individual, and that to him and his decisions all must bow.

The custom of distinguishing men occupying positions of power as chiefs or rulers of the people, by some outward symbol of authority, such as the mace or the sceptre—terms often used synonymously—denoting the dignity of their office, it has been well observed by Kelly, is one undoubtedly of very great antiquity, both among savages in all ages, like the aborigines of Australia and New Zealand, and from the times of the

polished ancient Greeks and Romans down to our own day. "In the ancient towns of England," to quote the words of Thompson, "when under the sway of the Romans, the usages of municipal life were doubtless similar to those practised throughout the empire. It may be assumed that the chief officers of each city or station were ordinarily attended by subordinate functionaries, as they were in Rome itself. The *Prætors*, or *Consuls*, as they walked along the streets, were preceded by their sergeants or beadle, designated *lictors*, who carried in their hands a number of rods, with one or two axes surmounting the whole, which were fastened in bundles, and were capable of being separated, to be used for scourging or beheading criminals. The *fasces*, in consequence of their invariable association with the magistrates, became regarded as the emblems of justice; and the spear was regarded as a sign of authority, that weapon being set up in the forum or market place, where the *Decemviri* chosen by the *Prætor* to judge of such matters as he deemed them competent to determine, discharged their functions. The spear was also exhibited at the collection of the taxes by the censors. Whether the use of the *fasces* and the spear survived the presence of the Roman officials in this country is a question left in some obscurity; but in France, owing to the continuity of the municipal system, and the unbroken succession of races in the occupation of some parts of the country, it seems probable that the ancient emblems of civic power and justice never fell into disuse. . . . The use of the sword as an emblem of municipal authority, or of the *fasces*, is not traceable in this country before the Norman conquest; and, indeed, it is doubtful whether an object of any kind or shape was employed in the way here described until the example was set by the metropolis in the fourteenth century. The most ancient and

generally used ensign of authority was the mace, which was originally an implement of war, invented for the purpose of breaking through the steel helmets or armour of the cavalry of the Middle Ages. It was borne by the chief magistrates of boroughs as a weapon; sometimes at the head of the townsmen called forth to battle, at others to strike down the rebellious townsmen in civic turmoils. As the esquire of the knight carried his lance, when not engaged in combat, so the sergeant of the mayor bore the mace before his master. . . . These insignia—the mace, sword, halberd, and spear—have been obviously retained in token of the authority which their original use implied. When the rude times passed away in which the mace was actually employed, an ornamental article superseded it, and became symbolic of supreme local authority. In like manner the sword—usually two-handed—was formerly used to behead offenders, and the official before whom it was held had the power to employ it on behalf of the community over which he presided. He had in his hands the ‘high justice’ of the locality. When, however, the right to decree and execute capital punishment was taken from city magistrates and entrusted to state functionaries, the sword was still preserved as an emblem of the ancient authority of the city or borough officials.”—*English Municipal Hist.*, pp. 173-179.

As a weapon of warfare, or as an object for not only asserting authority, but for enforcing obedience by muscular argument, the mace became undoubtedly a formidable instrument when wielded by a stalwart arm, and was capable of doing good service where other weapons would be powerless. “We learn,” says a writer of no mean authority, “that maces were in common use in warfare amongst the ancient Greeks” [many mace-heads belonging to those people are

deposited in the British Museum], “the name *κορυνη* being derived from the little horns or spikes by which the head was surrounded, it being thus the prototype of the ‘Morning Star’ of Scandinavia; and it may be mentioned incidentally that on the font at Wandsford Church, Northamptonshire, of about the reign of William Rufus, are sculptured two warriors fighting, bearing shields, one of whom is armed with the mace, and the other with that singular weapon consisting of a staff to which is attached by a chain an iron ball covered with spikes; and it may be remembered that one of the giants in the Guildhall, London, is thus armed. As Plutarch informs us, Periphetes, slain by Theseus, was named ‘Corynetes,’ or the ‘Mace-bearer,’ and that weapon was adopted by Theseus, which, we are told, became in his hands irresistible; and Homer gives the same appellation to Areithous. Indeed, Dr. Clarke has derived the origin of the Corporation mace from the Ancient Greeks: he says that ‘the sceptre of Agamemnon was preserved by the Chæroneans, and seems to have been used among them after the manner of a mace in Corporate towns, for Pausanias relates that it was not kept in any temple appropriated for its reception, but was annually brought forth with proper ceremonies, and honoured by daily sacrifices, and a sort of mayor’s feast seems to have been provided on the occasion.’” We, however, have now only to do with the mace as known in our own country.

In our own country the mace, undoubtedly as a weapon, can be traced back to very early times. Examples of what are called mace-heads, of stone, of the Celtic period, have been discovered, but the classification is not a happy one, and need not further be alluded to. Mace-heads of bronze examples have also occasionally been found in our own country and in Ireland, as well as abroad, and although their actual

age is a somewhat vexed question, they may, in some instances at all events, be referred to the Ancient British period. An example is here engraved. These objects are of course socketed for mounting on, or rather the heading of, a straight staff. I shall be able to show, in the course of my work, that the selfsame form is still used in at all events two or three of our ancient boroughs as the head of staves of office for one or another officer.

The mace is now and then found depicted, in its

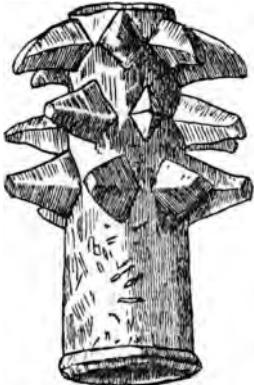


FIG. 1.

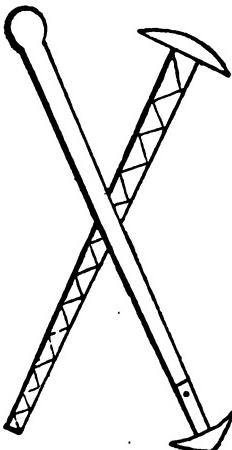


FIG. 2.

then form, in illuminated MSS. of early date. In mediæval times, besides being a military, it became an ecclesiastical, and also a civil weapon, and from its use for offence and defence came to be regarded not only as an object of fear, but a symbol of power and authority. Of its military use many examples, from the Bayeux tapestry (where, however, it takes more the form of a knotted club) downwards occur, and there can be no doubt it was a most formidable weapon in the hands of knights and men trained to arms; while

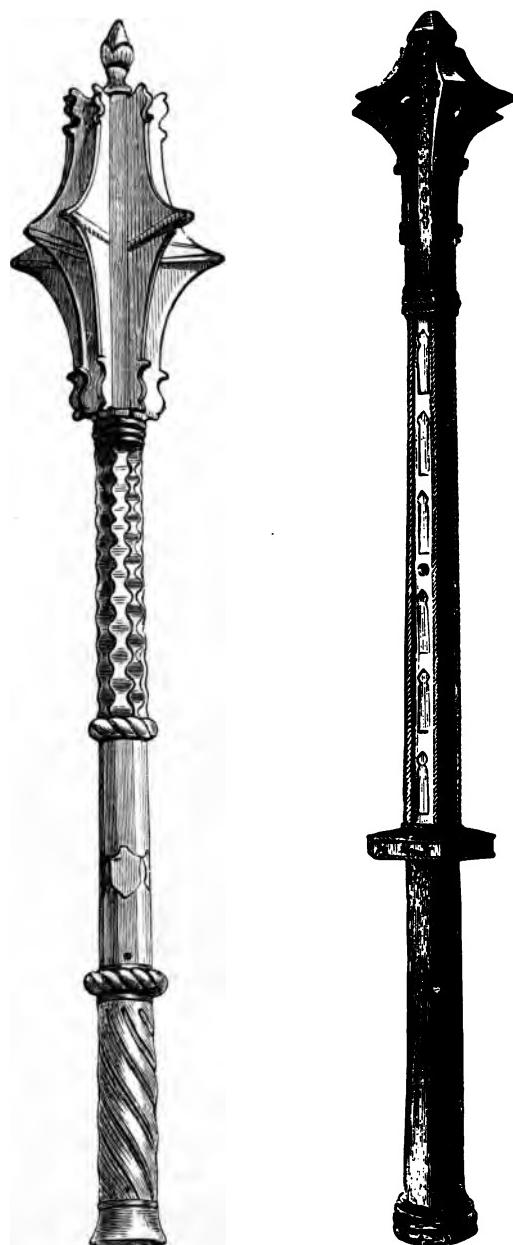


FIG. 3.

among prelates, who, although forbidden to wield the sword, took rank among the great military leaders of early times, it was a staff of deadly use. "Maces



FIG. 4.

were," it has been remarked, "the special weapons of pugnacious prelates, who thereby evaded the denunciation against those who smite with the sword"—and did more destructive work upon their enemies by using

a weapon of far greater and more deadly effect. Among these warrior bishops, the names and doings of Odo of Bayeux, half-brother of the Conqueror; Anthony Bec, the prince-bishop of Durham, who gained renown at the Battle of Falkirk in 1298, when he led the second division of the army of Edward the First, and the "warlike Bishop of Norwich," Henry de Spenser, will at once be called to mind. Two curious examples are here engraved (Fig. 2); the one with the plain shaft is from the brass of Bishop Wyvil (1375) in Salisbury Cathedral; and the other from a MS. of the time of Henry III. Examples with globular heads occur in illuminated MSS. of the fourteenth century.

The two maces next engraved (Fig. 3) are probably ecclesiastical, and are of remarkably good character. The first (belonging to Mr. J. W. Baily) has its head formed of seven blades or pointed plates, with an acorn-formed terminal point; the shaft being divided into three lengths by two cable-pattern bands. These parts of the shaft are variously ornamented—the upper bearing a kind of undulating pattern; the centre octagonal with shields; and the lower spiral. It has originally been fitted, at its lower or socketed end, with a wooden staff, fragments of which still remain. The second (which is in my own possession) has also its head formed of six pointed plates, but it is altogether of a finer and more elaborate character than the other. The plates are each pierced with trefoils, and are crocketed upon their front edges, the space between them being filled in with quatrefoils cut in latten-brass. The shaft has been divided into three lengths, the two upper ones being cusped in latten-brass affixed to the harder metal. The lower part of the shaft, divided from the upper by a boldly-projecting hexagonal band ornamented with quatrefoils, has doubtless been wrapped for holding with a tighter grip, and the

bottom is socketed. It is a remarkably fine and highly curious example of early art-metal-work, and undoubtedly the most elaborate that has come under my notice.

The accompanying engraving (Fig. 4), copied from one of Hans Burgmair's curious plates in the volume of the doings of the Emperor Maximilian (of course of the time of our Henry the Eighth), exhibits maces of this general form borne by masquers at a grand state banquet.

Besides iron, these maces were made sometimes of wood, brass, bronze, or lead (the latter being called "plombées" or plommées"), and their heads were variously formed. Thus Froissart :—

" Le Sire de Chin tenoit une plombée ;"

and Guiart :—

" Sus hyaume e sus cervellieres
Prennent plommées à descendre."

II.

The "Massuelle," a weapon whose use was forbidden to the turbulent citizens of London in 1327; and the "Quadrelle," so-called from its four projecting plates bearing a kind of resemblance to a flower, were maces of this description. The latter are thus mentioned by Peris de Puteo, 1543: "Vel quadrellos vel mazas ferratas in arzono."

In the Meyrick collection the examples of maces as weapons were very extensive and curious. It was this kind of mace that is alluded to in the *Romance of Cœur de Lion* :—

" With hys hevy mace of steel,
There he gaff the Kyng hys dele."

And again :—

“ Hys mace he toke in hys honde, tho
That was made of yoten bras.”

The mace, according to Planché, continued to be a weapon of war till the commencement of the sixteenth century, and, having first been combined with the pistol (the butt of which was globularly or otherwise formed so as to be used for hand-to-hand combat), was finally superseded by it. It was also “used in the tournament and in the joust of peace.” In the “Knight’s Tale” of Chaucer, the herald ends his proclamation by bidding the knights to

“ goth forth and ley on faste,
With long sword and with mace fight your fille.”

Which we are told accordingly they did, and

“ With mighty maces the bones they to-breste.”

For the joust of peace, however, the mace was made of wood, and had a hilt like a sword, to which a cord was attached, whereby it might be recovered if struck or dropped from the hand. One of these is thus described in *Livre de Tournois du Roi René* :—“ Et peult on qui veult, atacher son espée ou sa masse à une deliée chaesne, tresse ou cordon autour du bras, ou à sa sainture, à ce que se elles eschapointent de la main, on les peust recouvrer sans cheoir à terre.” “ It has,” Planché continues, “ the form of a club, its original character ; and that some hard knocks could be dealt with it is clear from the directions for the stuffing of felt of the pourpoint to be three fingers thick on the shoulders, arms, and back, ‘ parce que les coups des masses et des épées descendent plus voulentieres en edroits dessu-dis que en autres lieux.’ ”



FIG. 5.



FIG. 6.



FIG. 7.

The transition from a warlike to a peaceable instrument—from being a deadly implement of muscular enforcement to that of an emblem and sign of peaceable assertion of power and authority—is very interesting. The laminæ were continued, but the opposite, or butt, end, developed into a bowl, cup, or other shaped head, and was more or less richly ornamented. A remarkable example of this occurred on an incised slab of the 14th century, formerly in the now demolished Church of Culture—Sainte Catherine in Paris. On it were represented four Sergeants-at-Mace, two in armour and two others in civil costume, each of whom bore a mace richly ornamented. These maces appear, from other sources, to have been of silver and enamel. They are all four alike; one of them is here engraved (Fig. 5). Another excellent example is that held by the King's Sergeant-at-Mace on a beautifully executed illumination of the 15th century, representing Henry VI. and his Queen receiving a book from its author, John Earl, of Shrewsbury; it is the earliest known example of a mace headed by a crown. It will remind one forcibly of other examples given in the course of this article.

The same general form of mace, with plates or laminæ, prevailed, as I have said, on the maces of corporate bodies; but whereas the laminæ had originally formed the head, they now, as in those last described, formed the base; the head being usually of demi-cylindrical shape, as shown in the examples here given (Figs. 6 and 7).

In confirmation of what I have said as to the warlike origin of the mace, which was certainly intended to batter down and break through the helmet or other armour which the sword could not effect, Mr. Octavius Morgan, who has done so much towards classifying old English plate, thus writes to me: "These small early

maces, which have at the top a knob or head, and the lower end is formed by six or eight flat bars or laminæ set round the stem, which is usually of iron covered with silver, thus somewhat resemble the warriors' maces of the time of Henry VIII., and give one the idea that these war maces were the original of the civil state mace, which, by degrees, from a weapon became an ensign of office of certain dignitaries, having in the first instance been a weapon for enforcing and preserving order in a manner similar to our constables' staves at the present time, which formerly used to be surmounted with the Royal crown. The constables' staves still bear the Royal arms, and are [like the mace, of which, indeed, they are the prototype] a civil weapon for enforcing order, as the sword was the military weapon which some Mayors are authorized to have carried before them. The mace was usually borne by Sergeants-at-Mace, who were generally constables." Some of these small maces are of iron, covered with silver or other metal, and are *weighted* so as more effectually to serve as weapons.

It was not until the close of the reign of Edward III. (1366-77) that the sergeants of the city of London were empowered by royal charter to carry maces of gold or silver, or plated with silver, and ornamented with the royal arms; for by the sixth charter of that monarch it is granted "the Sergeants-at-Mace in the city aforesaid shall be at liberty to carry such maces of gold or silver, or plated with silver, and garnished with the sign of our arms or others," etc.

The body of Sergeants-at-Mace, afterwards changed in designation to Sergeants-at-Arms, instituted as a body-guard by Richard I., and by the French king during the crusades, had "not only to watch round the king's tent in complete armour, with a mace, a sword, a bow and arrows, but occasionally to arrest

traitors and other offenders about the Court, for which the mace was deemed a sufficient authority; hence they came to be called 'the valorous force of the king's errand in the execution of justice.'" We learn that in 1417 a Sergeant-at-Mace (or at Arms) when appearing in the king's presence was ordered to have his head bare, his body armed to the feet, with the arms of a knight riding (*i.e.*, with armour such as used

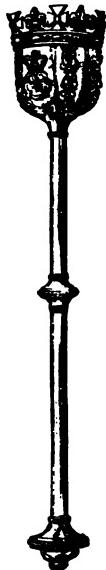


FIG. 8.



FIG. 9.

by knights when they fought on horseback), wearing a gold chain with a medal bearing all the king's coats (quarterings of his arms), with a peon royal, or mace of silver, in his right hand, and in his left a truncheon. Hence, in all probability, was derived the custom of the chief magistrate of a municipality, who, as such, is the representative of the sovereign, being attended by his mace-bearer, as a symbol of the royal authority

thus delegated to him by his sovereign's charter or otherwise.

Some of our Corporations are fortunate in possessing early and very remarkable examples of maces, and these forms will be seen in many instances fully to carry out the opinions I have expressed. By far the larger number, however, of existing maces do not date back to an earlier period than the reign of James I. The maces of that period, as of the days of the Tudors, were not large in size, and their heads consisted of a hemispherical bowl, often crested with a circlet of *fleurs de lis* and crosses *pattee*, or other devices, and within this, on a flat or cushion-formed plate at the top, the royal arms. In the Tudor examples these arms are found occasionally enamelled; in other examples they are engraved, and in others again in bold relief. The form of the mace, as now most commonly seen, that with the open arched crown surmounting the head or bowl, is not met with, I believe, of an earlier period than the Restoration, at which time many corporations, companies, and guilds had the cross arches of the crown surmounted by orb and cross added to their already existing maces; and all the new ones that were made were also so surmounted. They were, also, usually of a larger size than previously, and were ornamented with the national emblems, royal initials, or monograms, and the like. The crowned mace thus became more than ever a seeming symbol of regal power, or, rather, of mayoral authority and power, derived from regal sources by royal charter or otherwise, and granted direct by the sovereign's will.

The mace is now and then found as an heraldic bearing. Three instances of its occurrence may be adduced. The first is that of the arms of ex-Lord Mayor Sir Thomas Whitaker Ellis, created a baronet in 1882; the next the arms of Sprinte of Bristol (1634) *sable*,

three spiked maces erect, two and one, *argent*; and the other the arms granted to Alderman Sir Matthew Wood, who was made a baronet in 1837; viz., Quarterly, *argent* and *or*, the mace of the Lord Mayor of London in pale, between in the first and fourth quarters an oak-tree on a mount, *verte*, fructed, *proper*, and in the second and third a bull's head erased, *sable*, charged on the neck with a bezant. These arms were, also, of course, borne by Lord Hatherley, who was second son of Sir Matthew Wood, Bart.

XII

FUNERAL BAKED MEATS

By VISCOUNT DILLON, F.S.A.

WHEN Hamlet, with as much sarcasm as sadness, remarks with reference to the marriage of his mother with his uncle, following so closely on the death of his father,

The funeral baked meats did coldly furnish forth the marriage tables,

one is apt to attach more importance to the contrast of the slight and often necessary refreshment offered on the occasion of these melancholy functions, with the extensive and luxurious banquets associated with the ceremony of marriage, rather than to the different character of the two ceremonies. It is true that in some classes of society a funeral counts as an outing, and is made the most of as such by all but the immediate mourners; but generally speaking there is a very great difference between the so-called breakfast (nowadays often indulged in late in the afternoon), and the slight repast which the presence of friends from a long distance renders necessary after the last duties have been paid to the subject of the occasion. Such a contrast could hardly have existed in olden days when an important funeral took place; at least, it is difficult to imagine how entertainments more luxurious as to quantity could have accompanied the joyous marriage ceremony, than those which were given on the occasion

of an obit dinner. Perhaps the absence of meat on these occasions gave a Lenten aspect to the entertainment, but the variety of fish, etc., on the board almost made up for that.

It appears that it was in the 16th century, and probably before then also, the custom, on the occasion of the death of a foreign and friendly monarch or prince of high degree, to hold a memorial service or "obbet," generally in St. Paul's Cathedral, soon after the decease of the said monarch. This was followed by a dinner or dinners, which were the "baked meats" referred to by Hamlet. Baked must here be taken in a liberal sense, for there were stews, and fries, and roasts as well. In the Public Record Office are the accounts for some of these obsequies celebrated in the reigns of Henry VIII., Mary, and Elizabeth, and besides giving a curious insight into some of the customs of England of that day, we learn somewhat of the prices of certain articles of food at that time. It has been considered by some that, in order to appreciate the values given in accounts of those days, the sums should be, roughly speaking, multiplied by ten to obtain the modern equivalents. This is only a rough calculation, for the increased facilities for conveyance of food from its cheapest source to London, and the larger consumption, owing to an extraordinary increase in population, must with many other influences be taken into consideration:

Before proceeding to describe one of these obit dinners in detail, we may take an example rather later in time. On August 18, 1557, the obsequies of John, King of Portugal, were celebrated at St. Paul's, London. Among the good things provided for the assembled mourners were fruits as well as fishes. The prices of these will probably make the reader regret that he did not live under Philip and Mary.



Five hundred pears at 6d. per 100, 100 peaches at 2s. per 100, bunches of grapes 1d. apiece, all sound delightfully cheap. Then there were 40 bushels of damsons for 1s. 10d., 1½ pecks of barberries for 3s., and even dates, which must have travelled far, were supplied at 4d. per lb.; 2½ lb. of byketts and carawes for 3s. 4d. were the biscuits and seed-cakes of the day. The 4 marchpanes or cakes cost 24s., and 2 lb. of prunes were 4d. A gallon of rose-water sounds cheap at 9s.; cream at 1s. per gallon, and milk and furmety at 9d., were certainly not dear. Then there were 8 grenefishes for 12s., 7 couple of soles for 7s., carp at 2s. each, barbel at 1s., 300 smelts for 5s., a panier of shrimps for 1s. 8d., 50 roach for 3s. 4d., and 1 bushell of oysters, no doubt natives, for 1s.

The above are items from what was no doubt a very good dinner, but we will now go back thirty-eight years, to the days when Henry VIII. was still a young man and had not lost his figure.

On February 11, 1519, my Lord of Norfolk, as principal mourner; my Lord Marquis and seven other noblemen and knights with Garter Norroy and Somerset, kings-of-arms; Carlisle and York, heralds; and the poursuivants named Caleys, Guynes, Rougecroix, and Rōuge Dragon, assembled in St. Paul's Cathedral to assist at the obsequies for the "hye and myghty Emperor Maximilian, late Emperor of Almayne." There were present also the Lord Cardinal Legate and Chancellor of England, and my Lord Legate of Rome. All these, with the ambassadors, who appear to have worn crowns of the modest value of 4s. 4d. each, made their offerings, which, by the way, were not anything very excessive, ranging from 13s. 4d. down to 1s. Next day, Friday, the 12th, the same company, or some of them, assembled at Baynard's Castle, where, under the direction of Mr. Robert

Knollys, Gentleman Usher to the King, "the baked meats" had been prepared. My Lord Cardinal's cook, no doubt a *chef* of the highest order, had superintended the preparation of the feast, while my Lord Mayor's butler looked after the arrangements of the table, and particularly watched the valuable plate which had been brought from the Tower to do honour to the occasion.

It will be interesting to compare the London prices of fish, etc., with country prices of the same time, and this we can do in some cases by referring to the thirty-fifth volume of *Archæologia*, in which are extracts from the household book of the Le Strange family at Hunstanton in Norfolk, and that of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, at his house of Thornbury in Gloucestershire. For further information as to the cooking, serving, etc., of the Middle Ages, Dr. Furnivall's most interesting volume of the Early English Text Society's publications, in which the *Babees Booke*, and other works on cookery, deportment, and table life, are reprinted with copious and lively explanatory notes by the learned editor, should be consulted. It will be seen that though temperance was as great a virtue as it is to-day, there were then as now gourmands and gourmets. The ichthyophagic vagaries of the obit dinner of 1519 must have taxed to the fullest the resources of the Charleses and Groveses of the time, but they could hardly be beaten by the Amphitryon Club of to-day, and certainly the cost was not excessive.

The dinner on Friday was on a very liberal scale, and consisted of the following items at the accompanying costs :

Bread, 4s. ; ale, 6s. ; beer, 1s. ; three ling, 4s. ; 2 blotfish, 3s. ; 8 haddocks, 5s. 4d. ; 50 whiting, 3s. 4d. ; pike, 8s. 4d. ; pippins, 1s. 8d. ; a fresh salmon bake, 9s. ; lampreys for sewe, 1s. 10d. ; 4 tench for jelly,

4s. 8d.; great lampreys to roast, 3s. 8d.; eels to roast, 4s.; half a turbot, 4s.; creves dudas, 1s. 8d.; smelts, 1s. 8d.; white herring, 1s.; bakynned herring, 1s.; flounder, 1s. 4d.; fried oysters, 8d.

Butter, 3s.; flour, 1s. 8d.; spices, 27s.; salt, 7d.; sauce, 2s.; oil, 2s.; apples, 2s.; wardons, 1s. 8d.; oranges, 8d.; cups, 1s. 3d.; trencherbread, 1s.; 6 galy-pottes, 1s. 6d.; boat-hire, 1s. 2d.

Four dozen (bundles) of rushes, 8s. 4d.; the washing of the napery, 1s. 8d.; cook's wages, 6s. 8d.; and the hire of 8 garnish of pewter vessel, 5s.

Of the above some items are worthy of note. Blot-fish are not mentioned in any book we have come across. It is clear that pippins were eaten with pike in those days, though the proper dressing of that fish is now rather an elaborate affair. Lampreys for sewe seems to be for stewing, as opposed to roasting. Tench in jelly occurs in John Russell's *Boke of Nurture*, and was probably a dish such as is now called "in aspic." Creves dudas were the freshwater crawfish—that is, *d'eau douce*. An eightpenny dish of fried oysters would not be worth talking of nowadays, but as we see in the Duke of Buckingham's accounts 200 hundred oysters 4d., it was evidently very different in Tudor times. Spices for 27s. is a very heavy item, and gives an idea that, even allowing for high prices, our ancestors indulged in this respect to an extent quite incompatible with what we should call a wholesome diet.

If the eightpenny dish of fried oysters looks strange, the eightpennyworth of oranges is almost more remarkable. We know how plentiful they are nowadays, how low freights are, and how the crops of this fruit are managed so as to arrange for the supply almost all the year round; but how was it contrived in 1519 to obtain a dish of oranges worthy a banquet of this kind for 8d.?

Trencher-bread was supplied at $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per head, which would make the number of places laid at this table eighteen. The rushes for strewing the floor, as was then the general custom in England, and on which habit Erasmus has left some pretty severe remarks, were for both days, and the cost, 8s. 4d., was probably the cause of the infrequency of their renewal or removal. The modern equivalent of 1s. 8d., namely, 16s. 8d., for washing table-linen for eighteen guests, seems a high price. The cook's wages, 6s. 8d., refers to the under-cooks, for we know that Wolsey's *chef* presided in the kitchen on this occasion. The pewter vessel which was hired for the occasion at a cost of 5s. for 8 garnish, or sets, eventually cost more, as on the second day it was found that 7 dishes had been lost (?), and had to be made good at a cost of 6s.

The dinner on Saturday appears to have included more choice dishes than that on the preceding day, and the expenses were more than double.

The provisions consisted of bread, 6s.; ale, 10s.; beer, 1s.; 5 lyngs, 6s. 8d.; 5 cod, 7s. 8d.; 12 pike, 26s. 8d.; a quarter of a porpoise with the chyne or back, 20s.; eels to roast, 7s.; lampreys to roast, 6s. 8d.; lampreys to stewe, 4s.; 100 smelts, 2s. 6d.; 200 whitings, 12s.; 5 turbot, 26s.; 4 great salmon, 32s.; eels to bake, 4s.; a conger, 6s.; 14 haddock, 9s. 4d.; 2 gurnards, 20s.; red herrings, 3s. 4d. There was also cream for custards, 3s., and for tarts, 3s.; butter, 5s.; pippins, 1s. 8d.; flour, 5s.; oil, 4s.; salt, 2s.; sauce, 5d.; onyons, 3d.; 200 eggs, 3s. 4d.; apples, 3s.; wardons, 1s. 8d.; and orranges, 1s. 10d.

The herbs for the kitchen and chamber cost 2s. 8d.; the spices, 40s.; 2 dozen trencher-breads, 18d.; the boat-hire, 1s. 1d.; and the cook's wages, 13s. 4d. The hire of the kitchen stuff was 6s. 8d., the earthen pots

for the kitchen, rod., and yeast, which is put with the hired articles in the account, was 8d.

Two boys employed as scullions were paid 4d. each ; 6 ells of cloth for jelly and for serving cloth cost 4s. ; and 7 pewter dishes, which were lost, were charged at 6s. ; and washing figures for 1s.

To cook the two dinners, 20 quarters of coal, costing 8s. 4d. ; 150 faggots, with their carriage, 5s. 4d. ; and 50 tallywood also, with its carriage, 3s., were used.

My Lord Cardinal's cook received the fee of 6s. 8d., while the Lord Mayor's butler received 3s. 4d.

Four gallons of red wine at 7d. a gallon were also used in the preparation of this day's dinner.

As to the prices of the fish, it is difficult to compare them with those in the Le Strange and Buckingham household books, as the sizes of course vary ; but as against the 3 ling for 4s. at Hunstanton, we find 50 ling for 11s. At Thornbury 12 whitings cost 4d. ; here 50 cost 3s. Large salmon at London are charged for 8s., at Thornbury half a fresh salmon cost 1s. 6d. Tench at Thornbury at 4d. each may be compared with the tench here at 11d. apiece. Half a turbot here cost 4s., at Hunstanton a whole one was 2s. 4d. The conger at Baynard's Castle for 6s., perhaps used then as now to make "turtle soup," may or may not have been finer than the "cunggr" for which 1s. was paid at Hunstanton. Here in London the 5 cod cost 7s. 8d., at Hunstanton 7 were got for 2s. 4d., and at Thornbury 1 cost 8d. At Hunstanton a porpes was had for 6s. 8d., while the mourners had but a quarter of one with the chyne (back), which cost 2os. At Thornbury 17 flounders cost 6d. ; here these fish cost 1s. 4d., but the number is not specified.

White herrings were those cured with white salt.

For making the "Ipocras for the dirige at Poulles

and for the dyner of the Saturdaye at Baynard's Castle," the following materials were bought :

42 lb. of sugar, 24s. 6d.; 4½ lb. of sanamn (cinnamon) at 10s. the lb. ¾ lb. of nutmeg, at 6s. the lb.; 3½ lb. of ginger at 1s. 6d. the lb.; ¼ lb. of cloves at 9s. the lb.; ¾ lb. of mace at 6s. the lb.; 30 lb. of comfetts at 8d. the lb.

The above were added to the 18 gallons of wine brought from Westminster, and besides this there were 6 dozen of spiced cakes, costing 13s. 10d., and 4 shillings' worth of wafferons.

We may compare the cinnamon at 10s. the lb. with that of the Hunstanton accounts, which was only 6s. the lb., and at that place the ginger appears as only 1s. 4d. instead of 1s. 6d. Cloves and mace, which in London cost 9s. and 6s. respectively, are shown as 6s. 8d. in the Le Strange books. In some entries the Hunstanton prices were even yet lower.

It is mentioned that for the Baynard's Castle dinners, besides faggots of wood, 20 quarters of coal at 5s. the quarter were used. At Hunstanton, which is some sixteen miles from King's Lynn, in the winter of 1530-31 coals are mentioned at 5s. to 6s. 4d. the chalder.

Taking the two dinners together, the quantities and variety of the food and the eighteen gallons of "ipocras," it is difficult to believe that such feasts were prepared for only twenty-four persons, as indicated by the trencher-breads.

We know that the quantity of food and drink allotted to the individuals composing the households of the great appears to us to have been excessive, but these two dinners seem to surpass the powers of any ordinary heads or digestions, and we must suppose that there were many persons not mentioned who picked up the substantial crumbs from these tables. The whole cost

of the ceremony and the dinners amounted to £165 4s. 7½d., and was a very substantial compliment to the memory of that very shifty and impecunious individual, the "Hye and Myghty Emperor Maximilian."

XIII

AN ELIZABETHAN SCHOOLBOY AND HIS BOOK

By A. M. BELL, M.A.

THE book which is described in the following pages is not, in its outward or inward appearance, likely to create excitement at an antiquarian sale. Should it appear at the hammer—which it never will, as it now rests in the safe keeping of Brasenose College Library—it might provoke a titter, but not the hush of excitement, which surely portends the deep or fiery voices of bidders who mean business. Yet it is a worthy book, and of fairly venerable antiquity, as it issued from the press of Robertus Stephanus in Paris in the year 1543. It has therefore come through the Reformation, St. Bartholomew's Day, the Civil War, serving well, perhaps—a turncoat book—on either side; it saw the later Stuarts, the glorious Revolution, the early Georges. To the reigns of these unlettered kings a blemish in the book may be attributed; it has been exposed to the wet, and weather-stains mark the under-portion of its leaves; in the Georges' time it was certainly in the cold. With the '45 it may have had better days; had the Baron of Bradwardine had it in his cave in the glen, he would have found it good company, and given it high honour. Soon after it came to Oxford; next it had a trip to Cambridge; then it turned up at Worcester; finally came to London, and was purchased for half a crown at a

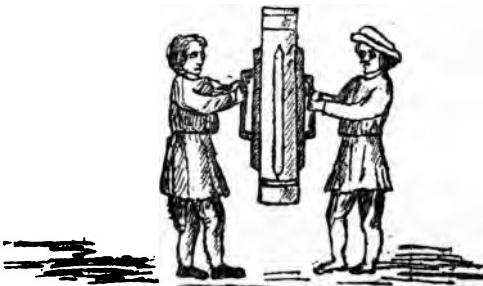
stall. After all these adventures, it has a respectable appearance—threadbare, worn, and with an uncertain back, but a veteran. It is also printed on a fine paper—hard, even, and tough—such as is not often to be found in the books of our own time, which is still, when unhurt by wet as above stated, of a lustrous white colour, and in no place marked by the yellow, foxy spots, which betoken a poor fabric and the power of all-consuming oxygen. In size it is octavo, small and fat, bound in calf, now very brown and smooth; but it has been bound many a time, and, like an oft-united widow, its reputation has suffered thereby—indeed, the pages at the top are so cut down that no mighty book-man would look twice at my favourite. Nor is it embellished with the engravings, powerful or quaint, which give value to many a sister-work of the same time and press, and are valuable, however the page may be impaired. The printer's device on the title-page is the most artistic embellishment, which represents an old man plucking sprigs from the lower boughs of the Tree of Knowledge, and in so doing somewhat belying the motto, which hangs in a scroll from the tree, *NOLI ALTVM SAPERE*.

Briefly, the book is an edition of Cæsar. It was bought in order to examine the maps and illustrations, as the writer wished to know what knowledge was possessed by the scholars of the sixteenth century of the geography of Cæsar's campaigns, and of his military works and operations. The maps are two in number—one of France, with the adjacent portions of Italy, Germany, and Britain; the other of Spain. They are drawn in the old style of map-drawing, with buildings to represent a town, rows of mounds for a mountain-range, and moon-shaped, Düreresque lines, densely crowded together, for the trees of the Forest of Ardennes and the Hercynian Forest. The effect is

quaint and pictorial, and shows that the difference between a map and a picture was not fully understood. Map-making has its history as well as writing ; and, just as in early days pictures of objects were used instead of the arbitrary symbols of sound which we call letters, we see here a similar stage of map-making by picture instead of by symbol. The result has the advantage of conveying a vivid impression, and the disadvantage of portraying the places named on a larger scale than true proportion would demand. The illustrations are four in number, of which the first is a sketch of the bridge over the Rhine. The print is a good print, because it shows how Stephanus, or his editor, understood the construction of the famous fabric ; in respect of drawing, it is a bad print, for perspective laws are openly and daringly violated ; and, whatever the details of structure were, those given by Stephanus are certainly wrong. Have you ever, my dear reader, puzzled over the construction of Cæsar's bridge ? Many a time have I, with all modern helps and cribs and pictures and reproductions *in petto* ; and, as you may not perhaps care to go through all the technicalities, you shall have my conclusions, which are : (1) That the bridge was a great success ; (2) that Cæsar was very proud of it ; (3) that his soldiers, every man-jack of them, worked like negroes to make it ; (4) that we shall never be certain of the exact nature of certain of the fittings by which the structure was held together—Cæsar's words are too indistinct. Mr. Pretor, the Cambridge scholar, declares that “ no duller treatise than the Commentaries of Cæsar has wearied the youth of succeeding generations.” From this opinion I entirely disagree, as I think that in style and subject Cæsar's work is matchless in grace and interest ; but one defect need not be denied. Cæsar's style is dignified ; in his own words, he avoids any

out-of-the-way word like a sunken reef. Therefore he does not call a spade a spade, he calls it "a tool which is employed in stirring earth." So he found it beneath the dignity of a historic style to be too particular in describing all the fittings, mortices, props, stays, pegs, nails, and cross-bars, which formed the mechanism of his bridge, and which must be minutely described to make that mechanism truly understood.

As an ex-picture or rider to the main subject, two men are represented, presumably Roman soldiers, but in the dress of sixteenth-century artisans, holding one



Modus quo Fistucæ

adiguntur.

of the *fistucæ*, or rammers, to knock down the piles of the bridge.

The second illustration gives the wooden framework of the walls of Avaricum, and in the forefront the towers and vallum of Cæsar's approach, before which "the fairest city in all Gaul, the stronghold and the glory of the Bituriges," fell at the last. Read between the few lines of Cæsar's brief narrative, and you will find it a terrible tale. Visit modern Bourges, and you will find not one vestige left of the fair city. Hardly any of the great sites of Cæsar's achievements preserves so small vestiges of the past. The walls,

Stephanus says, are so clearly described by Cæsar that their nature can be understood even by a mean intelligence (*a mediocri quoque ingenio intelligi possint*). Stephanus's print is clear; there is no doubt about what he means. So far good; but somehow it is unwise to talk of the humble intelligence of our neighbours. The scholars of the Musée de St. Germain give a representation of the walls of Avaricum quite different from that of Stephanus, and yet in our view more in accordance with Cæsar's words.

The towers and rampart are more correct, but the *agger*, or raised approach, which was the decisive contrivance, and a work of such toil that its construction almost broke down the indefatigable patience of Cæsar's legionaries, is undepicted.

The third illustration is of the Siege of Marseilles, and gives a good idea of the Roman tower and *musculus*, or covered shed for nearing the walls. The word *musculus* means "Little Mousey," and is an example of the "rude military jest" of the Roman soldier. It was a shed shaped like an animal's back, and went poking away to make a little hole at the base of the wall; "our little mousey" is an intelligible name. The rough northmen called a similar engine a "sow"; Black Agnes of Dunbar's words are famous:

Beware, Montagow,
For farrow shall thy sow,

when she beat back the approach of the invader. So when the Scotch farmer calls his long, low stack a "sow" of hay, he is unconsciously preserving the name, and telling us the shape of the mediæval sieging-shed, which in its turn was lineally descended, though changed in name, from the "Mousey" of the Roman artilleryman. So insensibly are the generations of men linked in sequence together.

The fourth illustration is of Cæsar's lines at Alesia, and is the best of all. The out-picture is of Alesia itself, which is portrayed as a mediæval fortress, not unlike Ludlow Castle.

But the print of the lines is good and true, and does help a reader, even of mean intelligence, to understand those works by which Cæsar was able with a small army to conquer two large armies together, and to bring to an end the independence of the most purely military nation of antiquity. The feeling of those days is still felt in France. A number of years ago the



Alesia ad montem Stephanus

writer was in Clermont Ferrand, and, wishing to study Gergovia, Cæsar in hand, went to a small bookseller's shop to buy a copy. The attendant was a young woman, but Stephanus himself would not have blamed her intelligence. She was interested in Vercingetorix; told of Gergovia, of Cæsar's scratch attack, and the bold defence. As she spoke, I seemed to hear again the Celtic shout passing along the ridge, and echoing from the wall; then to see the legions for once driven back, and hurled pell-mell down the basaltic steep, on which 700 Roman soldiers, many a one almost an army in himself, had fought their last fight. Reader,

have you ever felt humbled? I did at that moment; for I felt that while I had been reading Cæsar and teaching Cæsar for many a year, and laboriously also, yet I had myself received a lesson. With the intellect I had raised fair and clear outlines of the past; but this shop-girl, of a country town, she had peopled the outlines of her historic knowledge with living beings full of life and passion. I asked, further, of the fate of Vercingetorix, and can never forget the reply. Turning her head aside, she said, with bated breath: "Ah, monsieur ; il s'est rendu." It was all present to her.

The print of Stephanus makes present to us the means by which the brief tragedy of Vercingetorix's life was completed, and the history of Northern Europe altered. Here are the bulwark (*vallum*) with its frequent towers; the crated palisade with its openings for defending warriors, with trees at intervals with lopped boughs like stag's horns (*cervi grandes*); the double trench, followed by the obstacle of forked boughs, and beyond them the long rows of caltrops and iron pegs which the Roman soldier in stern jesting named the "tombstones" (*cippi*). The extraordinary toil with which these works were rapidly completed is worth our thought. Justly are we proud of Wellington's lines of Torres Vedras—boldly were they conceived, patiently executed, firmly held; their construction and defence had a very foremost place indeed in the overthrow of Napoleon Bonaparte. Yet, if we read history aright, they were neither so boldly conceived, nor so patiently executed, nor so fiercely attacked and so firmly held as were Cæsar's lines; nor were the consequences of their successful defence so important to the destinies of Europe as are those which have followed from the endurance of the lines of Alesia, and from the presence of Cæsar there. These words may be thought to be the exaggeration or the vapouring of an un-

patriotic person; but I would refer any doubting reader to the words of Sir William Napier, who was not unpatriotic, and was well entitled, both by experience in the field and by study in the school, to form judgments on military affairs, and he will find that he says that Wellington's works were "more in keeping with ancient than modern military labours." Napier, like Napoleon, had studied Cæsar.

Now, all this information and much more besides (for I omit the annotations of Henricus Glareanus, poet laureate, only recommending them to all who are crossed in love or have invested money unwisely), it seemed a fair half-crown's worth; but as I turned over the pages of the booklet, I found that it contained an extra well worthy of attention. We have heard of an honest Dutchman at the Cape, who saw his child playing on the floor with a clear quartz pebble, took the pebble to the Cape, and changed it at a jeweller's for £300; he took it for quartz, and found it a diamond. Such is said to have been the beginning of the present great diamond-mines. Perhaps, too, reader, you have been a boy, and, fishing for a trout, have caught a salmon. Once did I share in such a joy, and shall never forget the September evening when, on the northern shore of Loch Vennachar, with bared legs I entered the water, and while one elder brother held the rod, another guided the boat, I slowly crept forward—even now the soft sand seems to stir beneath my feet—seized the scaly monster, hugged him in my arms, and brought him in triumph to the grassy bank.

So this little book has an interest beyond its printed matter. It has had many owners: one was Dr. Wilbraham, of Brasenose College, Oxford; a second was George Nevile, of Trinity College, Cambridge; a third was J. Newby, B.A., Fellow of Brasenose in 1762;

a fourth, in earlier years, was Ferdinando Richardson, and boldly he writes his name, as though

Ferdinando Richardson.

was no mark to be ashamed of.

All these owners have taken care of their book, and have left no mark beyond their names on the title-page ; but this has been very far from the case with one of the first possessors, if not the first possessor of the work. He was a boy at Westminster School, apparently a chorister ; and, like many other boys, he was given to scribbling and making notes on his schoolbook. These are the notes (forgive, shade of Glareanus, poet laureate) which enforced attention, and changed the trout to salmon, the honest quartz to nobler diamond. They are scattered here and there, hardly six words ever together, almost all in the cursive lettering of the sixteenth century ; but when collected and deciphered, they give us a glimpse—a true glimpse—of the English schoolboy of three hundred and five years ago. That is the date, beyond doubt ; for it is written in bold, Gothic characters, and ink still black as coal :

John slie his booke.

1589.

These words are not written on the title-page, but, like a boy, our idle John has placed them on the margin of a page near the end, thus providing full room to display his penmanship. But note the year, 1589, two years after the death of Mary Stuart, one year after the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Still, as these words were written, the echoes of that fierce conflict rang in men's ears ; and from many a grateful lip the words of thanksgiving, rather than of triumph, were heard : "He blew with His blast, and they were scattered." Think for a moment of the events of

which our boy must have heard, of the men whom he must have seen. As a Westminster boy he was free to enter the House of Parliament, and Burleigh's staid figure, Walsingham, Bacon's spare form, Cecil's unpretentious aspect, the ruddy hair of Essex, and Leicester's showy attire, must have been known to him. Can we doubt that Lord Howard of Effingham was his hero? or that Raleigh, Frobisher, and Drake were names which stirred his young heart? Did he not think that the "singeing of the King of Spain's beard" was the finest joke in all the world? He may have seen Shakspeare act, for Shakspeare left Stratford for London in 1587, and at once took to the stage. The Westminster play may have given our friend a taste for such performances. What a privilege for the opening heart of boyhood to grow under the influence of such names, and be by such early traditions ennobled for life! Nor were they without effect, for John Slye was a loyal subject: no Popery or Puritanism, no defections here, or back-slidings there among our Westminster boys. The name "Elizabeth" is frequently written on an empty page, and doubtless refers to the Queen. Indeed, our friend celebrates in verse himself and his sovereign together. Through thirty-one pages the following lines are slowly written, a few words at a time:

My father to me - this booke did give;
And I will kep it as long as I live.
Whose booke it is if you will know,
By letters twaine - I will you shewe.
The one is I in all men's sight,
The other is S and full of might.
Joyne these to letters - presently,
And you shall know - my name by and by.
John Slye - is my name,
And with my penn - I writ the same.
God that made both - sea and sand
Give me grace - to mende my hand;

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For I have neither - hat nor cap,
He is a knave - that redes me that.
The rose is redd - the leves - are grene,
God save - Elizabeth - our noble -
Quene

Endless flourishes follow all over the page, and “John Slye” for signature with a flourish to begin with, another to end, and a third below.

Is not this delightful? is it not just like a boy? partly sense and partly nonsense, partly his own, and partly from the common schoolboy *vulgaris*, but with real duty to his father, loyalty to his queen and country, and perhaps a dash of brag in the flourishes, which will wear away in after years.

Now, there are some points in these verses which, like Cæsar’s account of the Rhine-bridge, will never be satisfactorily explained. Why is the letter “S” full of might? Is it from Samson, whom Germans familiarly name Simson? Is it from the “S” in strong, *vis, ἵσχυς*? Is it from religious association, as the letter is typical of the Saviour, and often inscribed in sacred imagery? Or is it because “S” winds round like a strong rope? *Judicaverit Aristarchus, non ego.* Again our boy prays for grace to mend his hand. This is truly boyish, for his handwriting is good, but he knows that it might be better, and prays for true excellence. Observe also, as a trait of the dress of the time, that he has neither hat nor cap. (The *for* in this line seems to elude comprehension.) The schoolboys of the previous generation wore no caps; this we know from Christ’s Hospital, where the dress of King Edward’s time has been retained until to-day, and boys are capless. Elsewhere dress has changed, and apparently in 1589 bare headdress was dying out; caps were coming in; fond mothers advised them; but not John

Slye, he is a good conservative boy, all for the old school tradition :

He is a knave that redes me that.

He has also a bit of poetry about him ; “God that made both sea and sand” has a genuine ring ; a prosy lad would have said “Sea and land,” which would have been common and tame. Sea and sand is uncommon, and the words at once rise in a picture before the eye.

The last couplet is also good. The rose is the emblem of England, and the green fields are her pride ; both together are called upon to witness or to share the prayer that Elizabeth may have prosperity.

John Slie, or Slye, for he is not very particular in orthography, had a boyish friendship. The words “my friend,” “friend,” “thou friend,” “my best br-,” “my loving friend,” “unto my lovinge friend,” “unto my most lovinge friend,” are common entries. The friend is unnamed, though one page supplies a clue ; it contains the words “you, Roger,” and goes on, “Amandi, of lovinge,” “Roger,” “Amandi, of lovinge,” “Amo, Amas.” What do you think ? I think that Roger was “my lovinge friend.”

As schoolboys in later years have been known to do, John Slye seems at times to have kept up a clandestine conversation with his friend by the help of his “penn.” On one page he writes : “Have you a Guess ?” Then there is a blank, in which friend Roger may have as surreptitiously replied. Then come the words : “The same.” Apparently the guess was right.

John Slye was a Westminster boy. This can hardly be doubted, as the words “Westmonosterium,” “Westmonesterium,” “Westminster,” “Westmaister,” all occur, and a well-flourished “W” is a common sign.

That he was a chorister may be inferred from the frequent appearance of musical notes. The favourite



words had seemingly been sung to a scale, and "Amen" appended. Elsewhere words occur which seem to come from some chant or anthem. They are half printed in ornamental characters :

from the lorde wch gaue thee life
euerlastinge. Amen.

The word "Amen" also, both in Gothic and in ordinary type, and between musical bars, is frequently found.

Elsewhere there are signs that our friend also practised the secular music of the time, of which so many beautiful relics will be found in Chappell's "Popular Music of the Olden Time." On one page



come the words, "Upon Munday night," which seem like the beginning of a song; and on another, enclosed in musical lines, are :

Lulla Lullabye my sunne

which are certainly the refrain of an old cradle song.

I do not find them in Chappell, but in the play of the Nativity, or more properly "The Pageant of the Company of Shearmen and Tailors," represented at Coventry in the year 1534, the following beautiful song is found.

It is very strikingly conceived, for the previous scene

is Herod raging to his soldiers ; the succeeding scene is the butchery of the infants ; as an interlude between, there is a scene at Bethlehem (" Bedlem," it is written), where three mothers appear on the stage with babies in their arms, and sing :

THE MOTHERS' SONG AT BETHLEHEM.

Lully, lulla, thou littel tine child ;
By, by, lully, lullay, thou littel tine child ;
By, by, lully, lullay.

Herod the king, in his raging,
Chargid he hath this day
His men of might, in his owne sight,
All yonge children to slaye.

That wo is me, pore child, for thee !
And ever morn and day,
For thy parting nether say nor singe,
By, by, lully, lullay.

Here we have the refrain in a slightly older form, which shows very clearly how the word "lullaby" is compounded of the words "lulla" and "by." "Lulla" is doubtless a nurse's form of the word "lull," meaning to go to sleep, as well as to put to sleep ; as in the old song, "When I lie lulling beyond thee." Lull several times repeated becomes of necessity "lulla." "By," again, in "by, by," may still be heard in the nursery as the shadows of evening begin to fall.

John Slye was also a scholar, and seems to have learned his Latin well, and to have given his mind to find adequate translations. The fourteenth chapter of Book I. is a well-known *crux* to the beginner, as it is written in striking and by no means easy *Oratio Obliqua*. J. S. underlines it throughout, and places on the margin at the top : "Nota" *Oratio obliqua* was a serious affair, and not to be trifled with. He also gives renderings

of various words in the first book, which are often struck off in the strong English of the time.

aciem instruit—he sett his battell.

prima luce—at the dawning of day.

impedimenta—cariges.

confertissima acie sub primam nostram aciem successerunt

—in a thick throng press under our vanguard.

Phalanx has a footnote to itself, which runs : A fore square Armie consistinge of 8,000 men set in such Araie that they might encounter with their Enemyes ffoote to ffoote.

matara—a javelin with a barbed heade.

vallum—a bullwark.

superfuerunt—estayed, *i.e.* (survived).

perpello, is—constrain.

perpavefacio, is—to make sore afraid.

In another place he expounds the difference between *differo* and *defero*, and in another practises himself in synonyms. Above *justitia* is written *equitas*; above *prudentia, sapientia*; above *potentissimos, fortissimos*; above *feracissimos, fertilissimos*; above *finitimi, proximi*.

He also studied geography : above *Apollonia* is written “the city Valonia”; above Dyrrachium, “the city Durace,” at least, if I read the small lettering right.

There are many other boyish fragments scattered here and there which it is unnecessary to detail. One has proved a puzzle to me, but probably had a meaning to the writer’s mind ; it stands :

The man is bleste, hose wickedness Elizabeth.

Cetera desiderantur. Possibly the loyal boy is exulting over the punishment of some offender deprived of life, or hand, or ear, by the legal vengeance of the Queen.

Now, is not all this worth saving from oblivion ?

An Elizabethan Schoolboy and his Book 159

Think one moment ere we bid our friend good-bye.
The curtain of three hundred and four years lifts for a
moment, and shows us a schoolboy. Mischievous he
is, and clever too, idle and yet diligent; handy with
his pen, singing merrily in choir and roundelay, dutiful
to his father, loving to his friend, loyal to his Queen.
It is a peep and no more, but it is a pleasant peep;
for it teaches us that while dynasties wax and wane,
while cities fade and others rise, while new religions
flourish and decay, while industries grow and die, and
social changes and aspirations seem to transform and
shape again the life of England, still “a boy’s a boy
for a’ that.”

XIV

A DEVONSHIRE YEOMAN'S DIARY

I.

By F. J. SNELL, M.A.

IN the course of some investigations recently there fell into my hands an ancient yellow-margined copy of the *Western Times*, a newspaper published, as all good Devonians know, at Exeter. The particular copy contained a number of excerpts from the diary of a William Honnywell, for which, singularly enough, a place was found in the correspondence column. The contribution was labelled "continued"; and as its genuineness, despite the modernized orthography, was self-evident, my curiosity was aroused. Through the courtesy of the present editor, Mr. S. H. B. Glanville, I was enabled to inspect the files of the *Western Times*, with the following results. I found that the first instalment of the diary appeared on October 30, 1832, and that more or less copious extracts were given for four or five weeks, after which, though more was promised, the communications came to an abrupt end. Though I was unable to copy quite all that was published, the citations about to be made are sufficiently numerous to absolve me from any charge of parsimony. The diary is prefaced by the following letter:

"DEAR SIR,

"I have lately met with a Book of Accompts and Remembrances, begun in 1596 and concluded in

1614, written by William Honnywell, a respectable and stocky yeoman, who held lands in Ashton and Trusham Parishes. He seems to have resided at Rydon, and to have acted as manager for Mrs. Staplehill, of Bremble. Having a command of money, many of his neighbours, even among the gentry, were in the habit of applying to him for loans. Perhaps he married one of the Staplehill family, for I find this memorandum of the 31st of March 1605—‘I enjoy yearly by my wife, the House and demeans of Bremell, valued at xxvi*l.* per annum.’ In the course of his Journal I meet with his Parents, his brother Christopher, who married in London, his sisters Eleonora, Elizabeth, Ann, and Joan, and a brother-in-law, Geo. Cadbury. That he died early in November, 1614, is apparent from this note in Court hand, dated 10th Nov. 1614:

“Paid Mr. Gilbert Sweete for charges which he disbursed for Mr. Honnywell’s funeral and unto the perquisitions lv*l.* xiiis. $\frac{1}{2}d.$ ”

“As several of the observations and items of this methodical journal may amuse your readers I have transcribed them, and with every kind wish for the success of your useful publication, I remain,

“Your Humble Servant,
“CURIOSUS.”

The diary itself is as follows :

“1596.

“16 January.—I bargained with Mr. Blatchford (subsequently called Parson Blatchford) for the tithes of Penn and the Commons for iiiij years; my term is to begin at Xmas 1596. I am to pay him quarterly xiiis. iiijd.

“19 January.—I took my journey towards London. On the 24th I came to *London*, and in my journey

upwards I spent xvs. I paid unto my brother Christopher xls., which xls. he laid out unto Mr. Nicholas Smith for a watch. On the 30th I received my watch from the dyal maker, and paid him for the mending of him vs., and I bought a purse to keep him in, which stood me as followeth: for the velvet iiijd.; for the two yards of ribbon iiijd.; the making iid.

"Feb. 7.—I bought 3 pair of shoes, two of them are edged with velvet, which stood me iis. viiid.; the other stood me iis. ijd.; so the 3 pair stood me viis. vid.

"Feb. 9.—I bought a pair of knives, which cost me xvjd.

"Feb. 10.—I bought two dozen of silk points, which cost me ijs. viiid.

"Feb. 12.—I bought xxx gold buttons for a *hat band*, which xxx buttons did weigh 3 quarters, two pennyweights, 3 grains, at 50s. the oz. I paid for the making and fashioning of them vd. the piece. I bought them of one *Rowland Edwardes*, dwelling at the sign of the *Key* in Cheapside. I have his bill for the warrant of them; so the whole cost me lixs. vid.

"Feb. 15.—I came out of London, and spent downwards xiiis. vid.

"Feb. 25.—I agreed with Mic. Underhay that he should have fourpence halfpenny the day, one day with another, and he to be at my finding and to be with me two days in every week. The agreement was made in the commons before John Fryer and Avery; and then I paid him for two days ixd."

Note.—From other items I find that the workman's diet was calculated at 6d. per day.

"1597.

"Jan. 1.—I received the communion at Ashton.

"Jan. 4.—I took of the Parson of Ashton his 3 orchards, at the Parsonage, for one year, and my term

to begin at Candlemas; and I have paid him this year's rent already xxs. I paid it him at Rudgway's xs. in gold and xs. in silver, in the presence of the soldier and his children.

"Jan. 4.—I lent to Stephen Sampford and John Buckingham of Chudleigh xxl., and I have their bonds for it.

"Jan. 12.—The interest of 50*l.* for three Quarters of a year was settled, viz., 3*l.* 15*s.* 0*d.*

"Jan. 16.—I bought of the old Cole eight Ewes. I paid for them 4*s.* and 8*d.* a piece, and so the whole xxxviis. and iiijd.

"Feb. 4.—I did send my Colt to London, to my master by John Clampitt, of Christow; the boy led (him) and my Master hath not paid me for him, but he is to pay vs. iiijd. besides twelve months keeping and what he will pay I refer to his consideration."

Note.—By "master" must be intended his landlord, Thomas, the eldest son of Hugh Staplehill, by Sabina his wife. This Thomas died 10th April, 1599, at the early age of 23. He was succeeded by his brother John, who died 1st August, 1604, *et. 28.* The other brother Roger had died before. The youngest sister Amy married the Rev. Thomas Clifford, grandfather of the Lord Treasurer Clifford. The elder, called either Mary or Elizabeth, married a Mr. Prowse. Westcote in his MS. *View of Devonshire*, p. 330 (A.D. 1630), says: "In Ashton Parish is Bremhill the long possessed place of Staplehill, which is so ancient as it is now clean worn out." The family vault was in Trusham Church.

"April 19.—William Ball my ancient good friend was buried.

"May 27.—I paid for a quire and a half of paper vid.

"Oct. 9.—I took my journey towards London." "Here," says "Curiosus," "he continued about seven

weeks and spent a pretty penny on finery; his hat lined with velvet cost 14s.; 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ yards of Tufftaffata, xxiis. vid., and numerous articles of dress about £10. On this occasion he spent on *Tobacco* vid.; paid to Spurway for charges at lard xxs., and spent downwards xvs."

"Dec. 1.—I received of Mr. Prowse my fee for the Bailiwick of Crediton, for Michaelmas quarter, the sum of xxvis. (?)

"1598.

"April 14.—I bought at Chudleigh a pound of twine to cord my pease 10d.

"April 20.—This day Stephen Sampford and I fell out about the lime he brought me as he said, vii. hogsheads, but it was not so; yet I paid him xxiijs.

"April 24.—I sold xij. lambs to Mr. Blachford for 3s. 8d., which in the whole cometh to xxvis. viiid., and he gave me his bill for the payment of it, and must pay me on the 13th of June next.

"April 25.—I took my journey towards London, and carried with me in money lxs.

"Aug. 1.—I began to reap my Rye. The average of the day's wages to a reaping man was 12d., to the woman about 6d. or 7d." (? remark of "Curiosus").

"Interest money due to me now and at Michaelmas next 1598 xl. xiiis.

"1599, Jan. 1.—Roger Sampford came to me to service; I must pay him liis. iiijd. a year and so for one year we are agreed.

"Jan. 2.—I paid Sampford as part of his wages to buy him shirts, in the presence of my Father, Mother, and Sisters, at Woodhouse vis.

"Jan. 14.—I agreed with Hugh Clampitt and Arthur Horne's son-in-law to build the barn at *Riddon* which was in this sort, 40 feet within the walls, the

sides 12 feet high and 17 feet broad within the walls, to make a fort of stonework, if stones be brought in place, and to find all things except straw and boards for the scaffolds and to do this sufficiently well and substantially. I must pay him lvis. viiid. and if I bring the water to the place, then he is to abate vs. Hugh Clampitt hath given his word to see it finished in sort before recited in double the sum, and this agreement was between us in the presence of George Murch, and I gave him fourpence in earnest.

“ 1599.

“ Jan. 21.—I paid Hugh Blachford in the Porch at Brembles 5s. which made up the sum of 20s. This money was due for a wrought waistcoat. His brother Timothy was with him.

“ Jan. 31.—I yielded up the Parsonage Gardens.

“ Feb. 2.—I paid Berrymore for a pair of shoes 2s.

“ Feb. 6.—I went to Ashton against Kingwell's boy for picking of my house; and I lost there to Mr. Pollard xiiis.

“ Feb. 9.—I bought a sack of oats of Mrs. Staplehill and paid viis.

“ Feb. 27.—I was at Teignmouth to bowls and lost there 4s. 3d.

“ March 11.—I lost at play with Mr. Pollard xxs.

“ March 12.—I lost at play with Mr. Pollard xxiiis.

“ March 23.—This day I made an end of ploughing and sowing the Wester Meadow and I sowed there 6 bushells and 4 pecks.

“ March 26.—I began to plough to my Eastern Meadow.

“ March 27.—I bought of Mrs. Staplehill 9 bullocks and paid 14l. 13s. 4d.

“ I bought of ditto 40 hog sheep and paid 17l. os. od.

" March 28.—I bought of ditto 40 wethers and paid 10*l.* os. od.

" I bought at Tavystock Fair 4 steers. I paid for them 4*l.* 8*s.* od.

" I bought there one steer more 1*l.* 6*s.* od. My father bought for me at Denby Fair 6 steers price 6*l.* 3*s.* od.

" Sept. 26.—I have all sorts of sheep at Riddon and the commons 166.

" 1600.

" The quantity and worth of all the corn that I had grown in the Wester Woolcomb 144 bushells. Value 30*l.* 6*s.* od. The threshing stood me xxxiiis.

" Jan. 3.—I rode to Chudleigh, and there sold to John Baker 60 lbs. of fine wool at 20*½d.* the lb.

" Jan. 7.—I sold my sheep, and in Ryddon were 96; in Wolcomb 31; in Barnpark 11 rams; in the afternoon I went to Chudleigh and lay at Mr. Estchurch his house (Lawell).

" Jan. 8.—I continued at Chudleigh, and in the evening I met Mr. Simon Clifford, unto whom I lent my nag to ride to Salisbury."

Note.—In another place he calls this Simon C. "my singular great friend." He was the second son of Anthony Clifford, Esq., of Borscombe, Wilts, by his wife Ann Courtenay, of Ugbrooke.

" Jan. 10.—At Chudleigh I received of Peb. Valence for twenty lbs. of fine wool xxxiiis. ixd. I sold to Buckingham 10 bushels of Rye for xls. the money to be paid me at Lady Day next."

Nov. 1.—He took a view of the debts owing to him, the names of the persons, the causes and the places. The interest appears high, but was not unusual at the time.

" John Geere and John Waltham xx*l.* use at Candlemas xls.

" John Geere xl. use at Lady Day xs.

- " Thos. Paddon *vl.* use at Lady Day *vis.*
" John Pynsent and John Ball *xl.* use at ditto *xs.*
" Matthew and Aug. Ratley *xl.* use at ditto *xs.*
" Philip Vicary and Wm. Batten *vl.* use at ditto *vs.*
" Lady Courtenay and Mrs. Clifford *xl.* use at Mid-
summer *xxs.*
" Richard Wood *vl.* use at Christmas *vs.*
" Hen. Creford and Rob. Wills *iiil.* use at Christ-
mas *iiis.*
" Gregory Mary (*sic*) and John Wills *viiiil.* at Lady
Day *viiis.*
" Richard Sperke and William Bennett *xxxl.* at
Lady Day no use.
" Arthur Hart *vl.* I have a judgment of *xivl.* against
him.
" Besides *21l.* *10s.* *8d.* lent to others without interest."

Note.—Before the expiration of ten years he took an
account of all his property :

- " Debts owing me by specialitie, *191l.* *10s.*
" Debts owing without specialitie, *20l.* *7s.* *5d.*
" Stock on farm, *177l.* *12s.* *7d.*
" Household goods, *50l.* *0s.* *od.*"

After all his debts had been deducted there remained
a clear residue of £352 *10s.* *6d.* The following entry
also relates to money matters :

" The xxviii. of July I perused over all my book to
see how much wood I had in the 3 commons, and I
do find that I had made there *lii.* dozen of fagots,
iiii. truss : and so much Challice and Ley did confess
they had, and for so much they had entered into bond
to pay me for at Christide next, each of them severally
vl. *xvs.* so the whole sum is *xiiil.* *xs.*

" *1601.*

" The iiiith of June I weighed my wool ccccxvii. lbs.
which at the *xd.* the lb. cometh to in money *xixl.* *iiijs.*

I sold to *Edward Taylor*, of Christow, cix. fleeces at xd. the lb. of the white wool and ix d. of the black wool."

Remembrances set down to September 29, 1601 :

"I lent to Dick Drake of Morchard, on the 23rd of June xl. in old gold, 2 Royals and 5 Angels, and one piece of xxs. He engaged himself with many great oaths not to exchange it, but he would deliver it to his Aunt and have silver for it: he promised on his soul's health to bring it whole, in the presence of my sister Elizabeth, the same day."

A note in the margin says: "Paid by Mrs. Thomas Clifford."

"Lent Mr. Hugh Pollard xxs. which he is to repay me on his return from Cornwall: and the money I delivered to his Gardener.

"N.B.—I lent Mr. R. Estchurch (of Lawell) on the iii April, on which day he took his journey to London, xls. and I sent it him by Mr. Estchurche's boy, who brought me a letter from him."

1602.

"*May 1st.*—I bought at Chudleigh Market so much victuals as cost me xiiid.

"I spent there xid.

"I bought a pair of gloves, and paid iiijd.

"I lay at Pynsentt's that night.

"*May 4.*—I was at Augustine Ratley's at dinner, where I met Mr. Chudleigh, and so past the time there all day at Bowls.

"*May 8.*—I went to Chudleigh market and bought a shoulder of veal for viid.

"*May 9, Sunday.*—I went to Bressell's to dinner, and the afternoon at Ashton, and there won at bowls xvjd.

"*May 10.*—I began to shear my sheep. This day

Comyn, of Lustleigh, was with me about his bond, and I promised him to take no advantage of his forfeiture, so that the money with interest was paid me at Michaelmas next. This day Richd. Estchurch and Robert was with me. I gave unto Richd. a gold button, and lent him a book entitled 'The Passions of the Mind.'

"*May 13.*—Richd. Hopes did arrest Richard Potter at my suit, and I did take him to *Lidford* to prison.

"*May 15.*—I went to Chudleigh market, and bought 3 cheeses, and paid xid.

"*May 18.*—John Staplehill came to Riddon, and lay there this night.

"*May 24.*—Being Whitsunday I went to Trusham to Morning Prayer.

"*May 27.*—I staid at Riddon all day. Wm. Casley came to me to draw up his Sister's assurance for her marriage with Bennett Ball, and this day some of Shillingford did fish Welcomb brook.

"*June 7.*—I went to *Mr. Davies* and dined there and gave my God-daughter xiid.

"*June 13, Sunday.*—I dined at Riddon, in the afternoon went to Trusham (Church) and lost at bowls xvd.

"*June 14.*—*Taylor* of Christow came for my wool and with him came his wife, he had of me 214 fleeces for xxvl. vis. vd.

" I bought a breast of veal and paid viid.

"*June 15.*—I rode to Chudleigh, and from thence Mr. Staplehill, Mr. Estchurch and myself rode to *Bampton* to *Mr. Copleston's*, where we stayed all night. Our business was about marriage for Mr. *Staplehill*. In the morning Mr. Estchurch and myself went to bowls with Mr. Wood, and L. C., I won then ivs. vid. At night I came to Riddon.

"*June 24.*—I went to *Leygh* (? Boddiscombeleigh) at morning prayer. Mr. Bollen sent for me, and I went

with him to dinner, there dined Mr. Cowlen and his wife, Mr. Gee and his wife, and in the afternoon came Mr. Luccomb, little talk to any effect but of arguments of Scripture, and somewhat of Mr. Gee and Clampitt his adversary."

On June 14 he made minutes of his will, which, however, he lived to cancel.

"In the name of God, amen. The substance of the gifts which I purpose to bequeath in my will:

"First, to my dearly beloved mother cl., to my principal friend Mrs. Staplehill xl., to my delighted sure friend Mr. Estchurch xxxl., to my singular great friend Mr. Symon Clifford xx, to my constant friend Mr. Bollen xx, to my fast friend and cousin Mr. Bagwell (of Exon) xx, to my trusty friend Mr. Augustine Racley vl., to my ancient and loving friend Mr. Symons vl.

"To my acquaintance and withal my good friends Mr. Thomas Clifford, Mr. John Staplehill, Mr. Henry Estchurch, Mr. Humphry Spurway, Mr. Hugh Osborn, Mr. J. Pynsentt, Mr. Richard Prowse and 6 others 20s. each to make them rings. To my 4 sisters Ann, Joan, Elisabeth, and Eleanor 10l. each, to Hugh, Joan and Ellen Fryer 4l. each. To Simon Cadbury my godson 6l., to his two daughters 4l. a piece, to John Stokes who hath few friends 6l., to his four brothers-in-law 40s. each.

"To my Uncle Honnywell and his son Harry 40s. each, to the rest of my Uncle's children and to all the children by my Father's and Mother's side 10s. a piece. To my 2 men-servants 5l. and to my maid Juliana Casley 40s.

"*July* 3.—I went to Chudleigh and bought as many *Newland* (*Newfoundland*) fish as came to ixd.

"*July* 4.—I supped at Bremell this night, master sent me a shoulder of venison, I gave the boy iiiid.

"*July 8.*—I had friends at Bremell to dinner, the charges of the feast stood me xvs.

"*July 11.*—I went to Trusham to forenoon prayer, I dined at Tucket's in the afternoon. I bowled and won xvid.

"*July 24.*—It did rain very much, Mr. Bollen came to Riddon unto me, and brought me a cheese and a pottell of butter. I lent him my book of the Mysteries of Mount Calvary. I rode to Chudleigh with him and there spent iiijd.

"*July 29.*—I was at Riddon; about 4 of the clock I was arrested with a warrant of the peace (from Mr. Reapnell) by two bayliffs, at Kingwell's suit; I went with them that night to Exeter. I lay at Mr. Bennett's with them.

"*July 30.*—I shewed my *supersedeas* at Stokehill. I came into the city, and dined with Mr. Prowse, his son, and both Mr. Cliffords with me. I bought a gold ring and paid viiiis.

"*July 31.*—I rode to Chudleigh Market.

"*August 1st, Sunday.*—I went to Ashton, and spoke with Mr. Pollard about Kingwell, and Henry Tucket was with me. I went from thence to Trusham and dined at *Credford's* in the afternoon. I and the constable came to Riddon, and there he warned Meadway to come before Mr. Pollard, but we could not meet with Kingwell. We searched his house twice, and lay at Riddon that night; and homewards we met Kenicott who confessed matter of importance unto us against Kingwell.

"*August 2.*—We all met before Mr. Pollard; Kingwell's wife came, but he did not. The matter had a long hearing. In the afternoon I rode to *Weelton*, with Mr. Pollard.

"*August 3.*—I returned from Weelton; we came to Mr. Estchurch homeward; we played at bowles at Chudleigh, where I won of Mr. Pollard iiiis.

"*August 6.*—I did reap my rye.

"*August 10.*—I rode to Exeter at the Assizes and staid at Hole's, myself and horse, and spent there xvid.

"*August 11, 12, 13.*—I remained at the Assizes. I bought a pair of shoes, and paid 2s. 6d. I more bought a pair of boots, and a pair of shoes, and am to pay 9s. I spent there that week in horse and self xvs. I rode this night to Chudleigh, with Henry Estchurch.

"*August 16.*—Mrs. Staplehill and her son dined with me, at Riddon. I sent for a bushel of salt and paid iis. vid.

"*August 22.*—I went to Trusham Church. After evening prayers went to bowles."

II.

By HENRY STONE.

I was very interested in the extracts from the "Yeoman's Diary," given by Mr. F. J. Snell in the foregoing paper.

It has occurred to me that perhaps the reader might like to know who the person was to whom we are indebted for publishing the MS. in the *Western Times*. "Curiosus" was the Rev. George Oliver, who for many years ministered to the Roman Catholics of Exeter. He continually contributed to the local papers fragments from his vast store of knowledge. He was the author, amongst other works, of *Monasticon Diocesis Exoniensis*.

On turning to the *Western Times*, I find Mr. Snell (or the printer) has made a slip in the date upon which "Curiosus" commenced publishing these extracts. They began on October 20, 1832, not October 30, as given.

I find that the last extract Mr. Snell gives is in the

issue of November 17, 1832; but this does not bring it to an abrupt end, for in that of November 24 the same is continued, and again appears once or twice, until brought to a close with the yeoman's death, mentioned in the issue of February 2, 1833.

As an appendix to the previous article, I send a series of impartial extracts from the remainder, which escaped Mr. Snell's attention.

1603.

"Lady Day, 25th of March.—I am to receive sums amounting to 160*l.* 1*s.* *od.*"

On this day he valued his property at £492 2*s.* 1*d.*

This year he sold his wool for £21 18*s.* 7*d.*

1604.

In the early part of the year he left Riddon for Bremell. He agreed to release Riddon to Morrice, and referred it to the Assize week to be drawn up. The rent of Riddon £xxiii per annum, reserving the Lower Broom Close and tillage to Mrs. Staplehill, the pasture to themselves, the rent to be paid twice a year.

Then nothing more is entered until January the next year.

Meanwhile, however, "Curiosus" gives in the issue for December 8 a very interesting account of the discovery of Bishop Brantingham's remains in Exeter Cathedral Church.

1604.

"Nov. 10th.—Paid Lightfoot for a rabbit, 8*d.*

"Nov. 12th.—Paid Great Osborne for 2 woodcocks and a snipe, 7*d.*"

In this month he had a sale of most of his property at Riddon. He sold to John Duder a hogshead of cider, and the cask with it, for 16*s.*, and other effects to the same, amounting to the sum of £6 5*s.* 1*d.*, but

the 5s. 10d., "at Mrs. Staplehill's request, I am contented to forgive, and so have passed my word, so that he is to pay me but £6."

In the course of this winter, Mr. W. Honeywell became a husband, but I can find no memorandum of the marriage. Must he not have married the dowager Mrs. Staplehill? In his "report of such monies as are owing to me, and the parties names that owe them, written at Bremell, the 12th day of October, 1604," I observe three several sums of £7, £5, £7, with interest charged to Mrs. Staplehill, and then is added, "All paid by marriage." In his "memorandums," written June 23, 1605, he makes this entry: "I do yearly enjoy by my wife the house and demeans of Bremell worth xxiiij."*

1605.

"8th Aug.—I praise my God for all his benefits.

"29th Dec.—I went to Woodhouse, and there sold to Robt Pynsent and his wife, 36 lbs of Pewter dishes at 7d. per lb, which came to xxix."

1606.

Here there are four entries of engagements of maids, one of which is given.

"Aug. 26th.—Came Mary Parr to me to service, and she is to have by the year 25s."

Here follows a list of debts, and then a list of grain and live stock valued separately, and totaled at £286 13s. 8d.

1608.

"24th Oct.—The certainty of my estate is as followeth in money owing to me 731*l.* 9s. od. At this time to my knowledge I owe nothing, and yet I had

* Honeywell, or "Curiosus," omitted to state xxiiij. *what.*

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three hundred pounds in silver by me which I reckoned not."

1609.

He spent part of this year in London, but his wife appears to have attended to the interests of the farm in his absence. On August 24 he estimates his corn to be worth £114.

1610.

The extracts are of the same type as the others.

1611.

" 12 April.—The debts very truly now owing to me are 543*l.*

" 4 Nov.—I Payed Salter 3 French Crowns and 2*s.* and 10*d.* for his wages, 20*s.* 10*d.*"

1612.

For the next three years the notes are scanty. His stock of bullocks, sheep, lambs, horses, and crops he valued (in 1612) at £463 13*s.* 4*d.*

1614.

The notes of this year are few. On July 18 he had 494 sheep and lambs worth £160. His bullocks and beasts numbered 52, and were worth £156. On August 7 he gives a long list of his debtors. To the large amount he adds a note of "silver in my purse 23*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*, gold fifty one pounds." He calculates on receiving his interest at Michaelmas, but ere long he must have died. In another hand I read: "decimo die Novembris, 1614, paid Mr. Gilbert Swete for charges which he disbursed for Mr. Honeywell's funeral and unto the Perquisitions, iv*l.* xiijs. o*½d.*"

ALAS! POOR HONEYWELL!

XV

THE FIRST PARLIAMENT IN AMERICA
(1619)

W. NOEL SAINSBURY.

CAPTAIN GEORGE YEARDLEY was chosen Governor of Virginia in the autumn of 1618 in the place of Lord De la Warr, who had died in Canada, and he had orders to depart immediately thither with two ships and about 300 men and boys. So wrote John Pory to our Ambassador at The Hague, when he also told him that the greatest difficulties of that Plantation had been overcome, and that the people there were beginning to enjoy both commodities and wealth. John Chamberlain, one of the greatest newswriters of that day, speaks contemptuously of Yeardley's appointment, calls him "a mean fellow," and says that the King, to grace Yeardley the more, knighted him at Newmarket, "which hath set him up so high that he flaunts it up and down the streets in extraordinary bravery, with fourteen or fifteen fair liveries after him."

The new Governor meets, however, with greater justice from the historian Bancroft, who tritely remarks that from the moment of Yeardley's arrival in Virginia, dates the real life of the Colony. Sir George Yeardley arrived there in April, 1619, and brought with him Commissions and Instructions from the Virginia Company for the better establishment of a Commonwealth there. He made Proclamation that those "cruell

lawes" by which the ancient planters had so long been governed were now abrogated, and that they were to be governed by those "free lawes" under which his Majesty's subjects lived in England. It was also granted that a General Assembly should be held once yearly, which was to be composed of the Governor and his Council, with two Burgesses from each Plantation, to be elected by the inhabitants themselves, and this Assembly was to have power to make and ordain whatsoever laws and orders should by them be thought good and profitable for their subsistence.

In accordance with these Instructions, Governor Yeardley sent his summons all over the country as well to invite those of the Council of Estate, that were absent, as also for the election of Burgesses, and on Friday, July 30, 1619, the first Parliament ever held in America, assembled at James City.

Beverley, the early historian of Virginia, denies that there was any Assembly held there before May, 1620. Stith gives an account of it, though he was unable to find a record of its proceedings, so that he errs a little in the date. No traces of it were met with by Jefferson and Hening, and those who followed Hening believed it no longer extant. The historian Bancroft himself, in the early edition of his great history, quoting Hening, says this Assembly was held in *June*, 1619. Indeed, until nearly sixty years ago, when a record of the proceedings was discovered in H.M. State Paper Office, it was given up as hopelessly lost.

The "reporte of the manner of proceedings" of this Assembly was sent to England by John Pory, the Secretary and Speaker, a familiar name in the history of Virginia, to Sir Dudley Carleton, at that time English Ambassador at The Hague, to whose energy and marvellous powers of letter-writing and news-

gathering we are indebted for many historical details which, but for him, would have been lost to us.

The first published notice of the existence of this State Paper occurs in the Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Virginia Historical Society in 1853. It is printed in full in the New York Historical Collections for 1857, with an introductory note by Mr. Bancroft, and also as a Senate document (extra) of Virginia in 1874; but these are consultable only by a favoured few, whereas the proceedings of this first Parliament in America are surely of sufficient universal historical interest to be circulated among the many.

This document is now preserved among the Colonial State Papers in H.M. Public Record Office. It comprises thirty pages, and may be abstracted as follows:—

A report of the manner of proceedings in the General Assembly, convented at James City in Virginia, July 30, 1619, consisting of the Governor, the Counsell of Estate, and two Burgesses elected out of eache Incorporation and plantation, and being dissolved the 4th of August next ensuing.

First Sir George Yeardley, Knight, Governor and Capitaine General of Virginia, having sent his summons all over the country, as well to invite those of the Counsell of Estate that were absente as also for the election of Burgesses, there were chosen and appeared—

For James Citty	{ Capt. William Powell, Ensigne William Spense.
For Charles Citty	{ Samuel Sharpe, Samuel Jordan.
For the Citty of Henricus	{ Thomas Dowse, John Poentine.
For Kiccowntan	{ Capt. Wm. Tucker, William Capp.
For Martin Brandon, Capt. John Martin's Plan- tation	{ Mr. Thomas Davis, Mr. Robert Stacy.

For Smythe's hundred . . .	{ Capt. Thomas Graves, Mr. Walter Shelley.
For Martin's hundred . . .	{ Mr. John Boys, John Jackson.
For Argal's Guifte . . .	{ Mr. Pawlett, Mr. Gourgainy.
For Flowerdieu hundred .	{ Ensigne Rossingham, Mr. Jefferson.
For Capt. Lawne's Plan- tation	{ Captain Christopher Lawne, Ensigne Washer.
For Capt. Warde's Plan- tation	{ Capt. Warde, Lieut. Gibbes.

It will be seen that the Assembly consisted of twenty-two Burgesses who were elected to represent three cities, three hundreds, four Plantations, and one "Gift," and they met in the Choir of the Church, "the most convenient place they could find to sit in."

The Governor being seated, those of the Council of State sat next him on either side except the Secretary, who was appointed Speaker, and sat right before the Governor, Sir George Yeardley, John Twine, Clerk of the Assembly, being placed next the Speaker, and Thomas Pierse, the Sergeant standing at the Bar

to be ready for any service the Assembly should command him. But for as muche as men's affaires doe little prosper where God's service is neglected all the Burgesses tooke their places in the Quire till a prayer was said by Mr. Bucke the Minister that it would please God to guide and sanctify all our proceedings to his own glory and the good of this plantation.

All the Burgesses were then entreated to retire into the body of the Church, and before they were fully admitted, they were called in order and by name, and so every man (none staggering at it) took the Oath of Supremacy, and then entered the Assembly. The Speaker then took exception to Capt. Ward, his

plantation being "but a limb or member" of Capt. Martin's plantation, and said there could be but two Burgesses for all, so Capt. Ward was commanded to absent himself. Other "obstacles removed," the Speaker delivered in brief (his ill-health not allowing him to "pass thro' long harangues") the occasions of their Meeting; he read the Commission for establishing the Council of State and the General Assembly, the Great Charter or Commission of Privileges, and the Orders and Laws sent out of England. These last were divided into four books, and two Committees of eight Members each were proposed "not to correct or control anything therein contained, but only in case we should find ought not perfectly squaring with the state of this Colony." When these Committees were appointed "we brake up the first forenoon's Assembly."

Every day's proceedings of this General Assembly is carefully entered in detail. Various petitions were presented and discussed—the instructions given by the Council in England to several Governors "as might be converted into laws" were debated. Laws against idleness, gaming, drunkenness, excess in apparel, and on a variety of other subjects, were enacted. Orders for the planting of corn, mulberry, silk, flax, hemp, and aniseed, were established, and resolutions on other matters were passed.

On Sunday, August 1, 1619, the entry is only one line, "Mr. Shelley, one of the Burgesses, deceased." But the sultry days of August had arrived, the season was one of the hottest hitherto known in that southern climate, the Governor was not well, the heat had overcome many of the Members, and so, on Wednesday, August, 4,

by reason of extreme heat both past and likely to ensue and by that means of the alteration of the healths of divers of the General Assembly, the Governor, who himself also

was not well, resolved this day should be the last of this first session.

Thus ended the first and last Session of the first Parliament in America. The Speaker was commanded by the whole Assembly to present their humble excuse to the Treasurer, Council and Company in England,

for being constrained by the intemperance of the weather and the falling sicke of diverse of the Burgesses to break up so abruptly before they had so much as put their laws to the ingrossing.

The Governor, Sir George Yeardley, then prorogued the Assembly until the first of March 1620, "and in the mean season dissolved the same."

XVI

THE CROMWELLS OF AMERICA

BY JAMES WAYLEN.

MEMBERS of the Cromwell stock, though they are still numerous in North America, have to a great extent died out of the old country. This remark is made, not in reference to the Protectoral branch only, but to various offshoots parting company with the central stem of the Midland Counties before Oliver became conspicuous, and now only dimly traceable through early parish registers, testamentary documents, and ecclesiastical presentations. And some of these evidences, it may be observed, crop up in very unsuspected quarters. For instance, there are several such existing in the registers of rural parishes round Devizes in Wiltshire, as well as in the neighbouring county of Somerset, and in the city of Bath—in places, that is to say, where the name of Cromwell has long been unheard. Moreover, the title has disappeared from the peerage. But Cromwell, as a patronymic, is not the only illustrious name which has been gradually suffering eclipse; and we must rest contented with the assurance that its memory at least will never die. Not a few cases of disappearance arose from the action of sundry cautious or prejudiced individuals, in the era of reaction, discarding the name of Cromwell and reassuming the family *alias* of Williams; but still more from the practice, which early set in, of emigration to New England and Maryland. In that country there would be little temptation in aftertimes to put the

name under a bushel. The tendency would be rather the other way; and the result has been, as stated above, that Cromwells are now found scattered over the Eastern States; they have even penetrated California. Mark Noble quotes the *History of Massachusetts Bay* as authority for the existence of a valiant and wealthy bucanier, known in the Western seas as Captain Cromwell, who died at Boston as far back as "about 1646." We are not to suppose that the old sea-rover went thither in pursuit of religious freedom; but in less than a dozen years after his death, we have abundant evidence in the Land-agency Office of Annapolis of the presence of more permanent and law-abiding settlers bearing the same name; of which, more anon. At a still earlier period than the above, namely, in James I.'s time, Henry Cromwell of Upwood, third son of Sir Henry Cromwell of Hinchinbroke, had interested himself in the settlement of Virginia, and was one of the "adventurers" who advanced money to cultivate that province. The fictitious story of Oliver Cromwell's being frustrated by royal mandate when attempting to embark for America, no doubt obtained popular currency from the known fact that so many of his name from time to time pursued the like course. The principal point of attraction seems to have been Maryland rather than New England, for the following reason. As the Lords Baltimore had in succession procured for their territory in Maryland charters favourable to religious freedom, in the interests of those who, like themselves, held the Romish faith, sober Protestants shared in the privilege; so that it came to pass that members of the Church of England, who were excluded by rigid Puritanism from Massachusetts, and Puritans, on the other hand, who found Virginia too hot for them, alike found refuge in this intermediate province. Other

inducements to colonize the Baltimore territory were made from time to time. It was understood that fifty acres, more or less, were free to all comers, and that everyone might claim it, whether rich or poor. Here is an early entry from the Annapolis records : In 1653, " Geessam [Gershom ?] Cromwell demands land for his own transportation and for the transportation of his wife and daughter."—Liber iv., folio 49. Annapolis is the county town of Anne-Arundel, and capital of the State of Maryland ; from the City of Baltimore it is distant about eighteen miles.

The question that Americans then naturally ask is : " Whence did these early Cromwellians spring ? Do we, or do we not, possess amongst us the direct descendants of the Protector ? Our own personal tastes—the tastes, that is to say, of some of us—together with various family traditions, seem to point to an affirmative issue ; though, after the lapse of two centuries, the documentary evidence has confessedly become obscure and intricate."

In answering this question, it will be well to commence by removing certain misconceptions ; and first, in respect of cognate descent from the Protector through the Claypoole connection. Although it is an indisputable fact that the children of Elizabeth Claypoole, Cromwell's second daughter, died without issue, the belief, nevertheless, long prevailed in the States, owing to the number and prominence of Claypooles there resident, that the link was well authenticated. The owners of the name, it is presumed, are by this time pretty well disabused of the conception ; but it may be interesting to make a short digression in their favour, before treating of the Cromwells proper ; First, as furnishing a creditable set-off against the moral shadow cast by Mark Noble on the memory of John Claypoole, the Protector's son-in-law ; and secondly, as associat-

ing the name with the triumphant march of American Independence.

James Claypoole, the brother of John, quitted the old country for New England when somewhat advanced in years; but previous to that event, his eldest son John, having become intimate with William Penn, had accompanied the philanthropist to Philadelphia in 1682, in the capacity of surgeon, in 1689 he was holding the more prominent office of Sheriff of Philadelphia. In Penn's Diary are preserved one or more letters confirmatory of this friendship. John's grandson William was the husband of Elizabeth Griscom, who, as "Betsey Claypoole," long carried on the upholstery business in Philadelphia, and was the maker of the first American standard flag. In this first standard she arranged the thirteen stars in a circle, and the form of her star, with its five points, is still retained throughout the States. Her house of business was No. 239, Arch Street, and was still standing in 1885. In *Harper's Magazine* for July, 1873, may be seen a narrative of George Washington's visit to her establishment in 1777, in company with George Ross of Maryland (who was her brother-in-law). Betsey Claypoole died in 1833, aged eighty-six years, and the flag-making business continued for some time to be carried on by her daughter Clarissa Claypoole; but this lady, as a member of the Society of Friends, becoming increasingly unwilling that her handiwork should be utilized for belligerent objects, eventually relinquished the occupation.

Returning to James Claypoole, with whom we began, an extract from a letter of his, written in England, in 1682, preserved in the Philadelphia Historical Society, may here be recited: "My eldest son John," says he, "is going away this week in the *Amity*, R. Dymond, Pens., to be assistant-surgeon to William Penn. I

have bought five thousand acres of land, and have fitted John out with all things necessary. His employment is very creditable, and if he is diligent and sober, may come in a few years' time to be very profitable. . . . I have a great drawing in my own mind to remove thither with my family; so that I am given up, if the Lord clears my way, to be gone next Spring—it may be, about a year hence."

Pursuant to this "drawing" towards a land of freedom, James Claypoole, in the following year, reached Philadelphia by the ship *Concord*, carrying with him his wife Helena; his four remaining sons, James, Nathaniel, George, and Joseph; and his three daughters, Mary, Helena, and Priscilla; besides five servants. From this stock numerous representatives have branched off in various directions; and their annals, we feel assured, can well afford to stand on their own merits. We now go on with the representatives of the Cromwell name.

In meeting a second misconception, it will hardly be necessary to warn the reader off from Negroland. Yet it may not pass unnoticed that among the commercial announcements made by persons of this name in Philadelphian and other newspapers and directories the advertisers not unfrequently turn out, upon inquiry, to belong to the coloured race. Nor must we blame the innocent ambition of men who, after emancipation from the condition in which they were known only as Tom or Nick, and finding themselves at liberty to adopt their own patronymics, sought to identify themselves with such houses as Raleigh, Trevelyan, Sydney, Russell, Talbot, or Cromwell; besides that in many cases they did but call themselves after their own masters. If this explanation suffice not, more domestic consanguinity will not be worth the tracking.

There were two principal Cromwellian groups in Maryland, those of Baltimore City, and those of Cecil County. The former were the earliest on the scene by perhaps half a century, though other arrivals would naturally occur from time to time, claiming clanship with their predecessors, and intermarrying with them; other kindred families associated with them being those of Hammond, Bond, Rattenbury, Woolghist, Trahearne, Wilson, etc. With the Cecil County group, who went over near the middle of the eighteenth century, descent from Oliver Protector is out of the question, since the pedigree of the Protectoral House at that period is thoroughly well known and definitely recorded. If existing anywhere, it must be sought among those of the previous century.

The first oral tradition to be noticed is that of Miss Katharine Cromwell of Washington, who was living in 1885, at the great age of ninety-two. Her statement is to the effect "that among the individuals constituting an early colony of Cromwells, Hammonds, and Bonds, the eldest of the Bonds was named Peter, and that one of the Cromwells was a William, born in the old country in 1678, and dying in 1735, and that his wife's name was Mary." All very true probably, and seemingly built on transmitted dates. We have to see how far it dovetails with other facts.

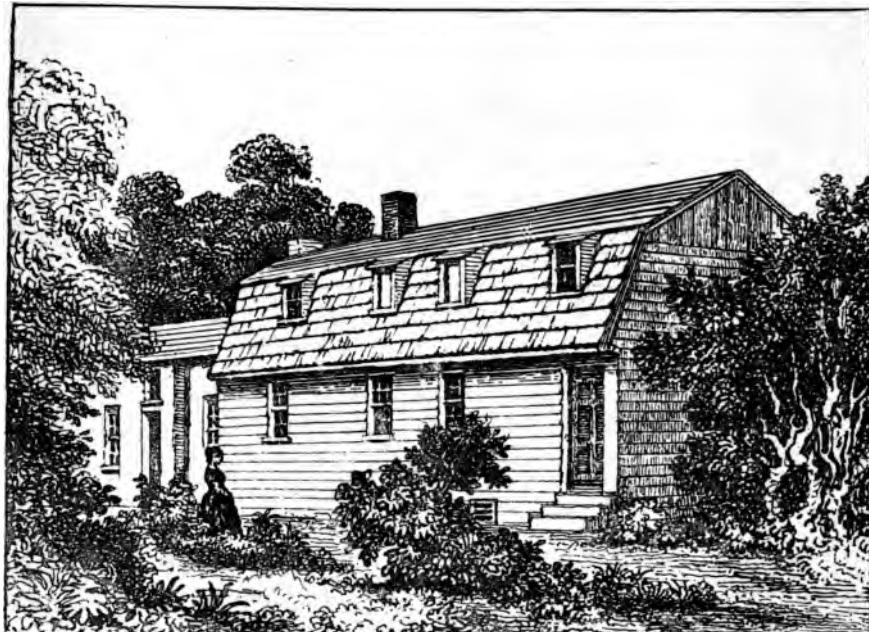
A more positive narrative rests on the testimony of Mrs. Sidney Norris, residing at Olney, near Ilchester, in Howard County, Maryland (*born* Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Cromwell, of Baltimore, M.D.), a lady conspicuous for her intelligent interest in the ancestral story. Here we are first introduced to a barrister, named Richard Cromwell, practising in Huntingdonshire, in England, whose three sons (keeping an eye on the Annapolis records), John, William, and Richard, were

grown men in 1670. But what was the exact era of this Huntingdon barrister? His age would very well fit in with that of Richard, the son of Sir Philip Cromwell, born in 1617 (*Noble's Protectoral House*, i., 357), but that Richard seems to have left a daughter only. This solution failing us, it must be admitted that there is no other printed record capable of supplying the want; and we must therefore suppose him to be one of the (then) numerous Cromwells whose memorial is still shrouded in a parish register. Neither may we identify him with Richard, son of Henry Cromwell, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, for that Richard, being born in 1665, could not have been the father of sons grown up in 1670; even if it could be shown that any of Henry's children ever went to America. It has, indeed, been suggested that Richard and William, sons of the Lord-Lieutenant, becoming, like the rest of their brothers and sisters, unfortunate, were dropped out of notice by the family biographers, and that the story of their obscure and early deaths might more truly have taken the form of emigration to America; but as there were already on the Transatlantic scene still older persons bearing their name, they really are not wanted to help us out of the difficulty, and we may therefore go on with Mrs. Norris's narrative.

RICHARD CROMWELL, though he appears never to have set foot in America, acquired the grant of a large estate in Frederick County, subsequently known as Cromwell's Manor. He was also one of the largest, if not the very largest landowner in Baltimore; and the estates thus acquired, together with town-houses in Baltimore City, are still enjoyed by his descendants, who are persons of good fortune and standing. The family carried over with them from the old country a large stock of household plate, engraved with a

Cromwell coat-of-arms. There is no trace of Richard's will in America. A search at Peterborough, in England, would probably bring it to light. The next in descent to be noticed is :

JOHN CROMWELL, styled "of Fairfield," one of the



A RESIDENCE OF THE CROMWELLS IN CECIL COUNTY,
MARYLAND, AMERICA.

Baltimore estates. He married Elizabeth Todd, and had three sons, namely :

- I. Richard, of whom presently.
- II. Colonel Thomas Cromwell, of Bedford County, Pennsylvania, where, about 1785, in conjunction with partners, he established the first iron-works, west of the Susquehanna. In 1787, a new county being formed out of a

part of Bedford, Colonel Cromwell, being on the commission, caused it to be named Huntingdon, and one of its townships is called Cromwell. Descendants of this gentleman are believed to be still extant.

III. John Cromwell, M.D., died s.p.

RICHARD CROMWELL, of Fairfield. A will bearing his name, preserved at Annapolis, 17th August, 1717, mentions Elizabeth as the name of his wife, and Richard and John as his two sons; while Thomas Cromwell is the name of a cousin. By this will, slaves are bequeathed, but no real estates are devised. One of the legacies is that of a negro girl to Margaret Rattenbury, and after her death to Hannah Rattenbury and her heirs for ever. The next in succession is:

JOHN CROMWELL, of Fairfield, who marries Hannah Rattenbury (Hannah was born in 1704), and is subsequently represented by another Richard of Baltimore, M.D., father (by Miss Hammond) of Mrs. Norris aforesaid. But it is evident that two or more generations have been lost sight of in this sketch; and as there were divers contemporary kinsmen, it may be as well to complete this section by recording the titles of the Cromwell charters, etc., preserved in the Land Office at Annapolis, not hitherto referred to:

1670. A warrant, granted 19th December, to George Yale for 600 acres. Three hundred of them, bearing the name of "Cromwell's Adventure," are at the same time assigned to John and William Cromwell, of Calvert County (Liber xvi., fo. 151). Sixty-five years later, "Cromwell's Adventure" is re-surveyed for William's two grandsons, William and John.

1680. Will of William Cromwell, signed by himself

and his wife, Elizabeth Trahearn. Mention is made of two brothers, John and Richard; of two sons, William and Thomas, though there were others. The lands willed are "Cromwell's Adventure," "Mascall's Hope," and "Hunting Quarter." Will proved 3rd March, 1684-5.

1723. Will of Thomas Cromwell. Two sons are mentioned, Thomas and Oliver. The lands devised are "Kensey," to his brother John Ashman; "Oliver's Chance," to John Cromwell; "Maiden's Chance" and "Oliver's Range," with "Cromwell's Chance," to the two sons. Proved in the same year; but the four execs., William Cromwell and John Ashman, two cousins, viz., John Cromwell and George Bailey, together with his eldest son, all immediately after resigned the office. No reason stated.

1731 or 1733. "South Canton," being a part of the Fairfield estate, granted to Robert Clarkson in 1680, is now assigned to Captain John Cromwell.

1733. Will of John Cromwell. Four children mentioned—Margaret, John, Hannah, and Anne. Lands willed are: Three tracts in "Gunpowder Forest," called "Cromwell's Park," "Cromwell's Chance," and "Cromwell's Addition." The land formerly held by Thomas Cromwell in "Whetstone Neck" to be sold for his debts. His wife Hannah (Rattenbury) executrix. Proved 9th May, 1734. The widow re-married within the same year William Worthington, at St. Paul's.

1730. Will of William Cromwell. Four sons, William, Alexander, Joseph, and Woolghist. Lands willed: "The Deer Park," and "Cromwell's Enlargement." Witnesses: John Cromwell, Joshua Cromwell, and George Ashman. Proved 12th February, 1735.

1745. Will of John Rattenbury, in favour of his nephew, John Cromwell.

1813. "South Canton," and "Hay-Meadow," two portions of Fairfield re-surveyed and patented as one tract for Richard, son of John Cromwell (by Elizabeth Todd).

It now remains to take note of the Cromwells of Cecil County, and of their offshoot in Kentucky. Here we have to begin with Thomas Cromwell, of Huntingdonshire, in the old country, who in the early part of the eighteenth century married a Welsh lady, named Venetia Woolgrish, or Woolghist, and himself died in England, leaving two surviving sons, John Hammond Cromwell, and Vincent Cromwell, who, with their widowed mother, passed over to America in 1763 to join the Cromwells of Baltimore, with whom they claimed kinship, and apparently had full warranty for so doing. The elder son at that time was twenty years of age, and Vincent was eleven. The family at first located themselves at Port Tobacco, in the southern part of Maryland, but eventually secured an abiding-place on the ridge of an imposing plateau called Mount Pleasant, in Cecil County, in the north-east corner of the State; their own particular domain bearing the name of Cromwell's Mountain, subsequently corrupted into "Cromley's Mountain," for such is the name of the neighbouring railway station on the Columbia and Port-Deposit line. The quaint old family residence, which still dominates this table-land, stands in the midst of a farm of 300 acres, at a spot between the main road and the Susquehanna River, and about a mile and a half from Rowlandville Station on the Philadelphia and Baltimore Central Railway. It is constructed partly of stone, but principally of timber, sheathed with clap-boards and surmounted by a gambrel roof. Inside the house the walls of the rooms are scored all over in diamond pattern, and the floors are, from age and settlement,

far from level. The founders of the house sheltered it with Lombardy poplars; but perhaps the most interesting feature of the place is a quadrangular



OLIVER CROMWELL OF KENTUCKY.

enclosure not far from the house, surrounded by a box-hedge six feet in height. This is the family cemetery, and here may be spelt out the brier memorials of many a Henry, a Venetia, an Oliver, and a Henrietta of the illustrious clan.

Here lived and died the elder of the two brothers aforesaid, John Hammond Cromwell. His wife's name was Mary Hammond Dorsay. His children were : I. Henrietta-Maria, who married Reuben Reynolds, and became the mother of Dr. John Cromwell Reynolds, surgeon of the U.S. army, and others. By her second husband, John Briscoe, of Kent County, Maryland, there was also issue. II. Matilda, married to Mr. Harlan. III. Frances. IV. Delia, married to Richard H. Keene, of Kentucky, all of whom left descendants. His will, which was proved October 12, 1819, is registered at Elkton (Lib. G. G., No. 7, fo. 309). The old family house, which it seems he had named "Success," he leaves in succession to the Harlan family, and then to Dr. John Cromwell Reynolds aforesaid. It is still occupied by relatives; but as he had no sons the name of Cromwell has there died out. One of his surviving representatives is Mrs. Stacey, of Oswego, in New York State, wife of Colonel M. H. Stacey, of the U.S. army. Among other provisions of his will, Mr. Cromwell frees his slaves.

Now, in respect to Vincent, the younger brother of John Hammond Cromwell, he appears to have moved into the neighbouring State of Kentucky (where, in fact, both the brothers had acquired estates), settling near Lexington about 1793, where he died in the same year as his brother, 1819. By his wife, Rachel Wilson, he had eleven children, as follows :

- I. John, born 1781, whose descendants live in Ohio.
- II. Benjamin, born 1782. His children are : 1, John ; 2, Oliver ; 3, Alvin ; 4, William ; 5, Howard ; 6, Vincent ; 7, Marcus ; 8, Caroline ; 9, Nancy. Of this group, John was reported about twenty years ago as living at the age of eighty. Oliver, the second son, must be the

gentleman who once, while passing through Cape Town on a cosmopolitan tour, attracted so much notice by his characteristic bearing and physiognomy that a resident artist, Mr. Barnard, was happy to secure several photographs from him. These are now in England. One of them we offer to the reader.

III. Joseph, of Lexington, in Missouri, where his descendants still flourish.

IV., V., VI. Joshua, Vincent, and Oliver; this last possibly identical with the Oliver Cromwell of Carolina who, in 1828, published a poem entitled *The Soldier's Wreath*, in celebration of General Jackson's defence of New Orleans.

VII., VIII., IX., X., XI. Sarah, Rebecca, Hannah, Rachel, and Mary. One of these daughters was the mother of the present Hon. Cromwell Adair, of Kentucky. Hannah, the third mentioned, married Nathaniel Ford, whose daughter is the wife of H. Hammond Randolph. Mrs. Ford died in 1881, at the age of ninety-two.

During the War of Independence, two names, conspicuous on the American side, were Captain William Cromwell and Major Stephen Cromwell, both from the vicinity of Baltimore City. A third member of the family was John Cromwell—who entertained at his house near “Rye Pond,” New York, Generals Washington and Lafayette—described as a descendant of John, cousin of the Protector, and son to Sir Oliver, of Hinchingbroke.

Sidney Cromwell, in 1776, at New York, published an essay entitled *Political Opinions*.

Mrs. C. T. Cromwell, in 1849, was the author of *Over the Ocean; or, Glimpses of Travel in Many Lands*. New York.

A final notice may be taken of the name of Hammond, which, it will have been observed, is frequently found in connection with the American Cromwells, as it had also been in England. This ancient and knightly family, Mark Noble observes, were greatly divided in their religious and political opinions. The most notable historical figure among them is, perhaps, Robert Hammond, the guardian of Charles I. in the Isle of Wight; but there is no reason to conclude that the Major-General John Hammond who held office in Maryland under Queen Anne was other than the descendant of a Royalist. An entry in the register of St. Anne's, Annapolis, states that he was buried by James Walton, the rector of that parish, November 29, 1707, who describes him as "the Honourable John Hammond, Esq., Major-General of the Province of Maryland, Western Shore, and one of her Majesty's Most Honourable Council, and Judge of the High Court of Admiralty in the said province." The funeral took place, not at Annapolis, but on the Hammond estate, three miles from that city, where the inscription on his tombstone is still legible, and states that he died in the sixty-fourth year of his age. He married a daughter of Colonel Greenberry, and left descendants at Baltimore, who were subsequently joined by other English emigrants of the same name. One of the race still living, viz., William A. Hammond, M.D., Surgeon-General in the army, is a name of great and deserved eminence in the States.

For the gathering of the above facts I am entirely indebted to the industrious courtesy of P. S. P. Conner, Esq., of 126, South 18th Street, Philadelphia, who has long been on intimate terms with various members of the Cromwell house, and whose intelligent interest in historical matters eminently qualifies him for the task of sifting evidence. His principal informant was

Mr. William H. Corner, connected by marriage with the Baltimore Cromwells. One of Mr. Corner's friends, Mr. William Henry Cromwell, of Philadelphia, deriving from the Cromwells of Road, near Frome, in Somerset County, England, bears an unmistakable resemblance to Oliver, Protector ; and yet the Somerset Cromwells do not derive from Oliver direct, but rather from Sir Philip his uncle. There can be little doubt that the early progenitors of this race must have been distinguished by personal traits of a very pronounced character ; and as it is a known fact that ancestral resemblances, both mental and physical, do occasionally crop up after protracted intervals, there is no reason why the *vera effigies* of his Highness should not reappear amongst us from time to time. Sir Walter Scott has made use of this physiological tendency in his romance of *Redgauntlet*. Some have thought that the Protector's countenance is traceable in the Addison family of Soham, who descend from him through Henry, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

XVII

STOCKING CLOCKS

By G. L. APPERSON, I.S.O.

SOME years ago the late Mr. Shirley Hibberd related* that, being on one occasion the guest of Mr. Augustus St. John, he had the pleasure of meeting, among other men of note, Captain Chesterton, then Governor of the House of Correction, and Douglas Jerrold. The Captain spoke of a prisoner "who could always state the exact time by looking at his own legs. 'Ah,' said Jerrold, 'you permit him to wear clocked stockings.'" Mr. Hibberd proceeded to inquire why a decorated stocking is described as "clocked." The question had often been asked before, and has been asked more than once since; but there is no satisfactory answer. For several centuries the silken embroidery daintily worked on a lady's stocking has been known as a clock, but only guesses can be offered in explanation of the term.

Dr. Murray, in the *New English Dictionary*, says that "one of the conjectures offered is that the pattern consisted of bell-shaped ornaments, but evidence is wanting"; and so the origin of the term remains a mystery. Originally the application of the word was not confined to stockings, nor was the meaning altogether restricted to ornamental embroidery. Cussans† quotes, under date 1548, "a cope of Blake vellat and Clothe of gold clocked." Fairholt,‡ quoting Randle

* *Notes and Queries*, 7th S., vol. vii., p. 148.

† *Church Goods of Hertfordshire*, 1873, p. 21.

‡ *Costume in England*, 1846, p. 479.

Holme, says: "Clocks 'are the gores of a ruff, the laying in of the cloth to make it round, the plaistes.' It was also applied to the ornament on stockings; and during the fifteenth century to that upon hoods."

The custom of ornamenting stockings with clocks is no modern novelty, although it is sometimes claimed as such. In the year 1770 some nameless rhymester published at Bath a poem on "The Art of Dressing the Hair," which he dedicated to an anonymous secretary of the "Society of Macaroni"—the macaronis were the dandies of the period—crediting him with various innovations in costume. "To you we are indebted," he says, "for the low-quartered shoe, the diminutive buckle, and the clocked stocking; elegancies which no *petit-maitre* has yet refined upon by venturing to introduce, as you have long wished, red heels, gold clocks, and a hat and feather." This poor poet was not at all well up in his subject. Red heels had been the mark of a beau for a century before his verses appeared, and clocked stockings date from early in the sixteenth century.

To the ordinary eye there does not appear to be anything extremely wicked in "clocks," nor much hidden vice in silk embroidery; but stockings thus adorned were favourite themes for the moralists of old. Stubbes loudly denounced luxury in foot-gear. Silk stockings were then first coming into use, and upon these novelties Stubbes poured out the vials of his wrath, adding a little special scorn for the "clocks." The new abominations, he says,* were "not of cloth (though neuer so fine), for that is thought too base, but of jarnsey, worsted, crewell, silke, thred, and such like, or els at the least of the finest yearne that can be got, and so curiously knitte with open seame downe the legge, with quirks and clocks about the ankles, and

* *Anatomie of Abuses*, p. 46, ed. Turnbull, 1836.

sometime (haply) interlaced with gold or siluer threds, as is wonderfull to behold." Very pretty, one would think, but from the morose point of view of observers of the Stubbesian school it was "impudent insolencie and shameful outrage." "Eueryone, almost," he continues, "though otherwise very poore, hauyng scarce forty shyllinges of wages by the yeare, will not sticke to haue two or three payre of these silke nether-stockes, or els of the finest yearne that may bee got, though the price of them be a ryall, or twenty shillings, or more, as commonly it is. . . . The time hath bene when one might haue clothed all his body well for lesse than a payre of these nether-stockes will cost."

But the good Stubbes did protest too much. A man in receipt of the income of forty shillings per annum could hardly afford to lay out a year's revenue upon the purchase of two pairs of stockings. There is ample proof, moreover, that even in the following reign—that of James I.—silk stockings were still comparatively rare. In Ben Jonson's comedy, *The Silent Woman* (Act III., Scene i.), a termagant of a wife, Mrs. Otter, reproaching her husband for his disobedience, recounts the comforts and luxuries which she allows him. Does she not give him half a crown a day for pocket-money, an allowance for horse-meat and man's-meat? Also, she continues, "your three suits of apparel a year? your four pairs of stockings, one silk, three worsted? your clean linen, your bands and cuffs, when I can get you to wear them?" And so the voluble lady proceeds with the catalogue of benefits under which her ungrateful spouse labours. The King himself does not appear to have been so well provided in the matter of hose as his royal predecessor. Queen Elizabeth told her silk-woman, Mrs. Montague: "Indeed, I like silk stockings so well, because they are pleasant, fine, and delicate, that henceforth I will wear

no more cloth stockings"; and from that time silk was Her Majesty's only wear. But James, it is said, once asked the Earl of Mar to lend him a pair of silk stockings—"scarlet hose with the gold clocks"—in which to receive the French Ambassador, "for ye wadna that your King should appear as a scrub afore the stranger!"

Stubbes fell foul, too, of women's hose. Feminine "netherstocks," like men's, were made of many different materials; and women were "not ashamed to weare hoase of all kinde of chaungeable colours, as green, red, white, russet, tawny, and els what; whiche wanton light colours, any sober chaste Christian (except for necessities sake) can hardly, without suspition of lightnesse, at anye time weare; . . . Then these delicate hosē must bee cunningly knit, and curiously indented in euery point with quirkes, clockes, open seame, and euery thing els accordingly—wherto they haue corked shoes, pinsnets, pantoffles, and slippers; some of blacke veluet, some of white, some of greene, and some of yellowe—some of Spanishe leather, and some of Englishe, stitched with silke, and imbrodered with golde and siluer all ouer the foot, with other gewgawes innumerable; all which, if I should endeavour my self to expresse, I might with like facilitie number the sands of the sea, the starres in the skie, or the grasse vpon the earth, so infinite and innumerable be their abuses."

Both gold and silver clocks were worn. Mary Queen of Scots, at her execution, is reported to have worn stockings of blue worsted, clocked and edged at the top with silver, and under them another pair of white. There are many allusions to stocking clocks in Elizabethan and Jacobean literature. Browne, the Devonshire poet, in his *Shepherd's Pipe* (1614), makes Palinode say:*

* *Poems*, Muses' Library edition, 1894, vol. ii., p. 159.

And on each stock
Work such a clock
With twisted coloured thread, as not a swain
On all these downs could show the like again.

In Samuel Rowley's play of *The Noble Souldier*, 1634, reprinted by Mr. A. H. Bullen,* the hero, Baltazar, says :

Stood my beaten Taylor
Playting my rich hose, my silke stocking-man
Drawing upon my Lordships Courtly calfe
Payres of Imbroydered things whose golden clockes
Strike deeper to the faithfull shop-keepers heart
Than into mine to pay him.

Although clocks were condemned by Stubbes, they were not regarded so unkindly by some authorities whose duty it was to prescribe soberness of attire. In the time of the great Queen, very strict rules were laid down as to the costume which might, or might not, be worn at the Universities. Thus, at Oxford, no graduate, scholar, or fellow of a college in holy orders was allowed to wear a ruff to his shirt at the sleeve, nor at the collar, wider than the breadth of one finger, "and that without ony work of sylke." Further, it was ordered that hose should not be lined with more than one lining of any stuff to make them swell or puff out, as was then the fashion to an extraordinary degree of puffiness; and such hose were to be made "without slyppe, cut, pownce, welte or sylke, savyng the stytch-yng of the stocks or the clocks of the same."[†] Such tenderness for clocks was quite remarkable.

Gold clocks, as is shown by the extract given above from Rowley's play, were familiar adornments in 1634. Throughout the eighteenth century they were among the distinguishing marks of every variety of beau.

* *A Collection of Old English Plays*, 1882, vol. i., p. 276.

† Strype's Parker, 1821, vol. iii., p. 127.

Other fashions of costume underwent many changes, but the exponents of clothes-philosophy remained faithful to red-heeled shoes and gold-clocked stockings. In the 319th *Spectator*, written by Eustace Budgell, an imaginary correspondent, Will Sprightly, claims to have been the originator of various changes of fashion. He explains that the tailors' technical phrase for "to lead up a fashion" was "to strike a bold stroke." "I was the first," he continues, "that struck the Long Pocket about two years since: I was likewise the author of the Frosted Button. . . . I produced much about the same time the Scallop Flap, the knotted Cravat, and made a fair push for the Silver-clocked Stocking." Gold, however, held the field. Here is a description of the beau of 1727, as given in *Mist's Journal* :*

Take one of the brights from St. James's or White's ;
'Twill be best if nigh six feet he prove high.
Then take of fine linen enough to wrap him in,
Right Mechlin must twist round his bosom and wrist ;
Red heels to his shoes, gold clocks to his hose,
With calves *quantum suff.*—for a muff.

In the *Epistle to William Pulteney*, Gay, speaking of the opera at Paris, says :

Where on the stage th' embroider'd youth of France
In bright array attract the female glance :
This languishes, this struts to show his mien,
And not a gold-clock'd stocking moves unseen.

The use of embroidered stockings was not confined to the male sex. The same poet, in his eclogue, *The Tea-table*, says :

Who such a foot and such a leg would hide,
When crook-knee'd Phillis can expose to view
Her gold-clock'd stocking, and her tawdry shoe ?

* Quoted in Planché's *Cyclopædia of Costume*, vol. ii., p. 302.

Women of all classes took to wearing embroidered hose. Pall Mall saw an extraordinary sight one afternoon in 1733, when "a holland smock, a cap, clocked stockings, and laced shoes," were offered "as prizes to any four women who would run for them at 3 o'clock in the afternoon" in that thoroughfare.* The race, we are told, attracted an amazing number of persons, who filled the street, the windows, and balconies. The High Constable of Westminster actually encouraged these proceedings by offering a laced hat as a prize to be run for by five men; but the mob did such damage that the inhabitants applied to the magistrates for protection, and such races were prohibited. It was a curious incident in the history of Pall Mall.

The downward spread of the fashion of wearing embroidered stockings did not pass unnoticed or unrebuked. Defoe, castigating the extravagance of his time, fell foul of stocking clocks, among other things. His theme was one that is familiar to us—the heinousness of a servant-girl's attempts to imitate her mistress's costume. Defoe's indictment is amusing. "Her neat leathern shoes," he says, "are now transformed into laced ones with high heels; her yarn stockings are turned into fine woollen ones, with silk clocks; and her high wooden pattens are kicked away for leathern clogs. She must have a hoop, too, as well as her mistress; and her poor linsey-woolsey petticoat is changed into a good silk one, for four or five yards wide at the least. Not to carry the description further, in short, plain country Joan is now turned into a fine city madam—can drink tea, take snuff, and carry herself as high as the best." It is evident that there is nothing new to be said on the great "Mary Ann" question. Generation after generation repeats the experiences, the complaints, the denunciations, and the prophecies of its predecessors.

* Malcolm, *Anecdotes of London*, vol. ii., p. 183.

XVIII

NOTES AND EXTRACTS FROM THE ACCOUNT-BOOK OF RICHARD BAX, A SURREY YEOMAN

(Kept between 1648-1662)

BY ALFRED RIDLEY BAX.

THE book from which the following extracts are taken is about $14\frac{3}{4}$ inches long by $6\frac{1}{2}$ wide, is bound in parchment, and is now in a very dilapidated condition, many of the leaves being much torn, whilst many of the earlier and later ones are altogether wanting, their stumps being alone left to indicate where they once were; and, as often happens, those which are missing just embrace that period when entries would have been particularly interesting.

It appears to have belonged to three Richards in succession. The relationship between the first and second Richard is not very clear, but the second and third stood in the relation of uncle and nephew to one another. The book is now the property of their descendant, George Bax Holmes, Esq., of Horsham.

Concerning the parentage of the writer we know little, and nothing certain, although I am strongly inclined to think that he was son of Richard Bax, who is described as of "Kitlands" in a *Brief Survey of the Manor of Dorking in 1622*. This Richard married at Ockley,* on June 30, 1612, Agnes Shoe, and by her he had John and Agnes Bax, twins, baptized July 14, 1614,

* Register of St. Margaret, Ockley.

and both buried on the same day in the churchyard at Ockley, and Richard Bax, baptized September 27, 1615.

It is probable that the writer of the Account-Book, or his father, was the first of the family who lived at Kitlands, although the name occurs in Ockley much earlier. In the Parish Register it is recorded that " Ralph y^e son of John Bax was bapt. March, 22th day, 1547."

The family seems to have been settled before that time in Sussex, as we find Richard Bakkes and John Bakkes enumerated in the list of tenants of Rusper Priory in the 24 Hen. VIII., 1532;* the latter is rated " pro le Newe House in Warnham, xijd." A few years later than this the name occurs repeatedly in the Warnham registers.

Our earliest trace of it hitherto is in a subsidy roll of the Rape of Lewes in 1296, copied from an original manuscript by the late W. H. Blaauw, Esq.;† therein it is spelt Bac. John Bac and Rich. le Bac are rated with other inhabitants of the Villate de Brystelmstone et Molscumbe.

But to return to our Account-Book, which was undoubtedly kept at "Pleystowe," a homestead in the parish of Capel (near Dorking). The earlier leaves having been torn out as before mentioned, the first legible entry is in 1648; it begins abruptly, and has reference to the quantity of oats threshed.

It will be observed that the worthy yeoman appears throughout his accounts and memoranda to have greatly favoured the phonetic system in spelling, not always with economy of labour to himself in writing.

It has often been asserted that, until Dr. Johnson's time, orthography was uncertain and fortuitous, and

* *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. v., p. 261.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 295.

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we have only to examine the epistolary correspondence of persons even of rank and position before his age to perceive how this is borne out by facts.

The same Daye of Nouember 1648.

	£ s. d.
Oeaining* to Richard Wright for worke	0 13 4
The Accountes of Thomas Dandey his Threshe-	
inge of Oeates †—	
It. at one time 55 bushelles	0 4 0
wher of Thomas Had 17 „ }	
It. 3 dayes worke a grobinge	0 3 6
It. at one time 6 bushelles of wheat	0 1 6
Tho. Dandey for thresheinge of Oeates 11 qr	0 9 9

The accountes of James Bottler, his Thresheinge
of Oeats—

It. for Howldinge of plowe 14 dayes . . .	}	
It. James Bottler for Thresheinge of for-	0 11 8	
tene qr. of Oeates		
It. at one time to Allen Boughton for wood		
cotinge‡	0 12 0	

Further on he has evidently been erecting either a new barn or outhouses, or rebuilding the old ones, as there is a long account for "nailles," "thetchinge," § "scaeing"; || also for "Boordes," "heauing," ¶ etc.

It seems probable that a pond was then first made on the property, as there is this entry:

	s. d.
It. to Richard Wright for the pond	1 5
It. to Richard Wright for ffelleinge of the Tember .	0 8

Cheese was then about $2\frac{3}{4}d.$ a pound, as appears from the next entry:

	s. d.
It. to Richard Wright for 12 pounds of cheese . .	2 9

* Owing. † Oats. ‡ Wood-cutting.

§ Thatching. || Sawing. ¶ Perhaps eaves is here meant.

He held "Holdbrooks" at this time (a farm long after in the family), and he has a memorandum of an offer which he made to the aforesaid Richard of a sum for "ffelinge of the Tember in the Howllbruck."

The fondness which persons in the country exhibit for introducing the idea of sex in inanimate objects is exemplified by the next heading : "The accountes of the Barne in the Howllebrucke which I have Desporst* conserninge him."

Will. Weller was his ordinary serving man for a long period, and we constantly find entries of work done by, and money owing to, him.

September the 29th, 1649.

	£ s. d.
Oeaining to will. weeller for moeing	1 10 0
Thomas Dandey was another in constant employment.	

October the 9th.

	£ s. d.
for moeinge of Oeates, 17 ackrs†	0 16 4
for moeinge of Broekes,‡ 3 dayes	0 4 0
for carings of Broekes, 1 day	0 1 0
for caringe of Doing,§ 4 dayes	0 5 0
For a dayes of waterseruing 	0 2 8

"The accountes of The Pease which I have soulde in the year 1648."

Then follow the names of persons and the number of bushels sold to each.

	£ s. d.
Suma is	8 6 9

"The accountes of the Oeates which I have scoulde¶ in the year 1648."

* Disburst.

† Acres.

‡ Brooks or Holdbrooks.

§ Dung.

|| I am at a loss for the meaning of this word; it often occurs throughout the accounts. Probably serving of water.

¶ Sold.

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The total number seems to have been 129 bushels, and the price varied from 2*1d.* and 2*3d.* to 2*s.* a bushel. This is followed by "the accountes of The Wheate which I have scoulde suncie the 208th (*sic*) day of September, 1648."

	<i>£ s. d.</i>
Imprimis Matthew Lee for a bushell of wheate.	
It. Will. Terrey for a bushell of wheate . . .	0 7 6
It. Rich. Lee for a Halfe bushell of wheate . . .	0 3 6
It. Rich. Wrighte for a bushell of wheate . . .	0 6 8
&c. &c.	

From the long list from which the above four lines are taken, it appears that he must have had large dealings in that commodity. We next come upon a singular entry: "The accountes of the dencher* in the Rowles and the monys which I have desporst to the workmen."

The following is interesting as reminding us of the stirring times in which he lived, and that events which now have the romance and interest of history were then occurring daily. It will be remembered that on the 30th of January in this year (1649) King Charles was beheaded at Whitehall, and the tax was no doubt levied with a view of clearing off the arrears of pay due to the soldiers.

* "Dencher," *vide* "Diary of Richard Stapley, Gent., of Hickstead Place, near Twineham, from 1682-1724, by Rev. Edward Turner, in *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. ii., p. 122, where the same word occurs. This term used to be applied to the act of paring off the turf from land and burning it. The residuum was used as manure. The word is supposed to be a corruption of "Devonshireing." The practice is, I am informed, now discontinued.

The accountes of The Taxes which I have payed scence
Sept. the 29th, 1649.

	<i>£ s. d.</i>
It. payed to Allen Wallis for the 3 Monthes pay for the Lord ffarflax (<i>sic</i>)* his army from ye first of September to the last of Desember . . .	2 12 6
It. payed to Tho. Henton at the same time for my Land in Charlwood	0 17 3
It. for the Rowles	0 13 0
It. for Rilles Land	0 1 8
It. payed to Simmons and ffuller from the last of Desember to the last of May	2 2 6

Hedging and ditching is regarded, I believe, at the present time as expensive work. Our friend Richard tells us what it cost him in 1649 :

	<i>£ s. d.</i>
It. for making of 103† Rodes of hedge and detch in the Rowlles	1 14 4
It. for 2,040‡ ffadgates §	0 4 0
It. for 18 Rodes and a halfe of hedge in the Rowlles	0 3 0
It. for cotinge of 1 stack of wood in the Rowlles .	0 1 0
It. for cotinge of 0607 ffadgattes	0 6 8
It. for 4 dayes worke	0 4 0
It. for 3 dayes worke with my horse	0 3 0
It. for going to mell and market	0 1 0
It. for two bushell of Oeates	0 10 0

From the "accountes of The Oeates which I have scoulde from September the 29th the year 1649," the price seems to have varied from 1*s.* 3*d.* the lowest, to 2*s.* 9*d.* the highest, per bushel.

In the next year (1650) he paid "for moeing of 15 ackars and a qu. of grasse at 1*s.* 4*d.* an ackeyr;" "for saying" (sawing) one day, 1*s.* 6*d.*, "for wenieing" (winnowing) 1*s.* 6*d.*, for "Two dayes a moinge of Oeates, 4*s.*"

* Fairfax. † 103 = 13; 10 + 3. ‡ Perhaps 240.

§ Faggots. || Mill.

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The accountes of the Reckneinge Betweene Will. Poulsden
and my scelffe—

	£ s. d.
It. Received of him for a mare	7 0 0
It. for 6 sheep	2 14 0
ffebuary the 4th, 1651.	
will. wheller for a peare of shues	0 4 0

The accountes of Thomas Dandey, March 1, 1651—
It. for Threshinge of 2 qu. of Teeres (tares) at
1s. 8d.

He notes at this time that John Dussell and Will Wheeler were his servants, and on February the 4th, 1651, "Will Hill did coome to mee to dwell." He received of Mr. Budgen "for my part of the cattell on John Walleses farm," £45. Richard Wallis received "for going to darking fowre times, 2s.," "for going to plowe one day, 6d.," "for harroung 4 dayes," 2s., "for Emptinge the Kell and Rowling," 1s. He sold "a Kalf" at this date for 10s., and "29 Lames" at 8s. 6d. "a lame."

The accountes of the monney which Mr. Budgen has
Received for Catell from the ffirſt of June—

	£ s. d.
It. Rec. of John Wickenden	10 12 6
It. for the Red Kind* at Hossum†	3 7 0
It. Ed. Gilles for the pide‡ heffer	3 10 0
It. Steuen Richman for a sheepp	0 11 0
It. Ed. Gilles for the black hefer	3 10 0
It. at Charlwood faire.	
It. Gilles black coot	3 6 8
It. Peekes the Redskin—Budgen	4 3 0
It. poore the whit flank	3 13 4
It. Spencer the black whit haft	3 6 0
It. Hills had the white hefer.	3 0 0
It. Gilles had the breded hefer—Budgen . . .	3 6 8

* Kine.

† Horsham.

‡ Pied.

	£ s. d.
It. Gilles had the Rede hefer—Wallton	3 13 4
It. John Gardner for a hide	0 8 0
It. Tho. Dandey for a bullocke	2 15 0
It. for hupps* Jo Keed of darking	5 6 0
It. Mr. Budgen Rec. for Rent of John Wardes the 15th of Aprill 1653-4	9 4 0
It. for 4 oxen at Smethfield	38 10 0

From notebooks like the present we often get the local names of plots of land, the memory of which has probably long passed away. Few, if any, could now identify "the Coppiss," "the Marl-field," "the soutters," "the Rowlles," "Youcrofts," "Gosvens," "Bockenden,"† "Letell Meade," "Charlwood Croft," "Rowles-garne," "Cowleas," "Sheppowles," "Colenes," &c., &c., yet they were well known at that time, and are in several instances mentioned repeatedly in the accounts.

He pays the following to Will Wheeler :

June the 27th, 1653.

	£ s. d.
It. for wreppinge‡ 1 day his Booy.	0 2 6
It. for 3 dayes and a halfe aploweinge	0 3 6
It. for sslaing of the Bullock	0 0 4

* Hops.

† Query, Pockenden. There are many farms and closes in the adjoining county of Sussex which owe their names to their having been the reputed haunts of fairies, such as Pookryde, Pookbourne, Pook-hole. The sharpened end of the seed-vessel of the wild geranium, called by the common people Pook-needle, probably originally meant the fairy's needle. Editor's note, "Journal of Timothy Burrell, Esq., of Ockenden House, Cuckfield, 1683-1714," by Robert Willis Blencowe, Esq., *Sussex Arch. Coll.*

‡ Reaping.

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Nicklas Smallpeas :	£ s. d.
It. for a short cloth	0 7 0
for whose	0 4 2
for a smocke clothe	0 3 2
for shues	0 3 4

As a man of enterprise he went to various markets to purchase stock wherever he was likely to obtain the best cattle.

May the 25th, 1653.—The accountes of the money which I have laid out for cattell in to (*sic*) John Wallis, his farme—

	£ s. d.
Imprimis for fflowre Beese* at Chersey	9 4 4
It. for two Beese at Wllton upon Temes†	3 18 4
It. for two Beese at Darking‡ market	4 0 0
It. Layed out at Leigh for Beese	7 6 8
It. at Eouell§ fayre Three beese	7 18 6
It. payed to Willkens for keeping the cowe	0 1 0

“The accountes of the ffadgats in Codworth.”|| They were disposed of to Richard Tayller and William Dennes. Then we have—

The accountes of The money which I have Desporst
to The Carryers—

	£ s. d.
It. to Anthoney Rowley, senr.	1 9 0
It. to Thomas Chas-mowre	2 0 0
It. to Anthoney Rowley, junr.	1 10 0
&c., &c.	

* Beasts.

† Walton-upon-Thames.

‡ Dorking, often spelt Darking in early times.

§ Ewell.

|| Cudworth, a moated farm romantically situated in an out-of-the-way part of the parish of Newdigate, about 2 miles from Capel.

Altogether he spent £29 9s. at this time for "carrying."

October the 30, 1655.

	£ s. d.
It. for Rackings of Oeats 4 Ackyers	} 0 6 0
It. by the day 4 dayes, and for	}
Richard* 4 dayes	0 6 0
It. for my wife one day	0 0 10

But before this last extract there is a suggestive entry:

Thomas Smallpeece de Nudigate in the (*sic*).
Thomas Bax.

Of course the words which were intended to be added were "County of Surrey." Does not the use of the Norman prefix "de" indicate the possession of a class of knowledge beyond what an intelligent yeoman in those days would be likely to possess? As the handwriting is somewhat different from that in all other entries in the book, and the colour of the ink much darker (although the court hand is still retained), may it not be that of Thomas Smallpeece himself? It is known that the Smallpeece family were related to the Baxes.†

* Who was this Richard?

† Richard Bax m. Ann Smallpeece, of Newdigate, co. Surrey, 25 Feb. 1666; Thomas Bax, junr., m. Ann Smallpeece, 15 April, 1681. There have been at least two matches between the Chasemores and the Baxes; one before 1622, when Joan Chasemore married Thomas Bax, and one in 1766, when Susannah, daughter of Richard Bax, of Newdigate, married Philip Chasemore, of Horsham. The Chasemores became very wealthy through dealing in cattle.

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He paid for "A lanthorne at lunden" at this date,
8d.; for "driving of Lames" (lambs) to Sutton, 5s.

In 1654 paid to Henry Wright for ffelinge the great
tree, 1s. 6d.

He had probably by this time obtained the reputation
of being a thoroughly substantial man, to whom it was
perfectly safe to make a loan, as there is quite a for-
midable list of persons to whom he was indebted, with
the sums due to each.

Veal was then 1½d. a lb.

	£ s. d.
A True and Perfect Account of the mony laid out by me for the Broucke at Pockruddon	0 10 0
Imprimus laid out for the Haruest—	
It. paid to the workmen for ffeleing and for fflaing (sic) of 39 yeards of Tann	0 7 6
It. paid to Richard Tayller 1 lod and 32 yeardes of Tann	0 16 10
1656.	
October 23. It. payed to Jo. Democke for Burn- ing of lime	2 0 0

The next entry is of considerable interest. It is the record of payment for education for son or nephew; the amounts have unfortunately not been filled in in the earlier instances, but we get them afterwards; the names written at the side are probably those of the schoolmasters to whose care they were committed. It should be remembered that £20 a year was considered at this time, and even in 1717, a handsome sum to defray a son's expenses at the University.*

* *Vide Sussex Arch. Coll.*, John Everenden, gentleman, paid (*circa* 1620) £1 a year for the schooling of his daughter Elizabeth, and £2 a year for his son Walter's education. *Vide "Account Books of the Frewen and Everenden Families,"* by W. D. Cooper, *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. iv., p. 22.

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Resbey :—

	<i>£ s. d.</i>
Payed for all Thomas his scowlinge till the 24 of december, 1656	
fforman :—	
Payed for All Thomas his Boord, till the 31st of January, 1656	
Paid for Thomas his scouleing till the 24th June, 1657	
Paid for Thomas his scourling till the 24th of December, 1658	1 0 0
Jo. Daves. The 20th of September, 1655, did come to me to dwell.	
It. paid to Richard all his wadges for the last yeare	4 15 0
It. paid to Nicklas all his wadges for the last yeare, 1655	5 0 0
Richard Batcheller :—	
It. Rec. in 1657, Cralley fayree	1 0 0
It. Rec. at one Tyme when he went to his mother December the 5th, 1657.	

Oats in the year 1656 appear to have risen in those parts from 1s. to 2s. 6d. a bushel; many sales seem to have been effected at Dorking on Thursdays, then, as now, the regular market-day. The following is highly amusing from its pompous diction :

Knowe all men by these presents that wee whose names are heere under written doe Exknowledge our scellues ffulley scatisfied for the moeing and Racking & Binding of The Oeats at Greenes in the yeare 1656.

will Scemond
his mark
Tho. Bull
his mark.

He paid at this date to “ Goody Pardoe for 2 dayes A wedinge for Thomas, 1s.”; for “‘haiing’ of the huckeffield, the Letell mead, Charlwood Croft, greate

Meade, Rowles-garne and the gossvens (?)," also for "1 day a haiing in the Cowleas, 8s. 8d." ; to Dandey, for "3 days worke in the fforist, 5s. 6d." and for "3 dayes at the Pound, 3s." On April the 10th, 1658, he gives the "Accountes of the money laid out by me for the hop-garne in the year 1658," total amounts to £26; besides that he "paid to Jo. Meiller for plantes, £6 5s., and to Ouleuer Neye for hop-poles eight hundred and a halfe, 8s. the hundred, £3 4s."

We next come upon further expenses for schooling.

	£ s. d.
It. payed for Thomas his Scouling till the 24th of June, 1658	1 0 0
It. payed for Thomas his Bourd until the 31st of Agust, 1658	4 15 0
It. payed to Thomas fforman, Will his Bord from the 6th of January to the 12th of July, the sum of	4 15 0
It. payed to Thomas fforman for Thomas his Bourd from the 31th of January to the 12th of July the sume of	3 15 0
It. payed to Mr. hount for Will his scowling . .	1 0 0
It. payed to Mr. Neisbett for Thomas his Scowling until the 12th of July	1 0 0

The succeeding extract appears to me one of the most interesting in the book; it has reference to his expenses in London during a week spent there on account of his presence being required in connection with the Chancery suit of a certain Anthony Thorpe.*

* This suit was brought by Thorpe as agent of the Lord of the Manor, to prove that a part of Pleystowe was copy-hold of the manor. In the end Richard Bax maintained his right to the whole as freehold.

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March the 14th, 1658. The Accounts of the money laid out by me Toward the sute of Anthoney Thorpe:—

	£ s. d.
Imprimus paid to Mr. Budgen for 2 nights liuing at lundon, & for the order	o 4 o

March the 29th, 1659.—

It. payed to Mr. Raworth for his ffee and lucking <i>(sic)</i> the writtings	o 15 o
It. payed unto Scergeant Mainard* for his ffee .	o 10 o
It. for goeing Ouer the water	o o 6
It. for Draweing the Afe David†	o o 6
It. for the Oath	o o 2
It. for Scerching the Supinaoses‡	o o 6

July the 26th, 1659.—

Ie did go to Lundon for the order of Desmecion
for Anthoney Thorpe's sute in chanserey.

Mickallmas Terme, 1659:—	£ s. d.
Munday, water	o o 3
at the Einn	o o 4
Munday, scoper§	o o 9
Toosday water Tempell	o o 3
water west to the Tempell	o o 3
Toosday Denner	o o 6
Toosday Scoper	o o 2
Mr. Atkines his ffee	o 10 o
The Attachment against Thorp	o 7 o
water Tempell to west	o o 3
at the Einn	o o 2
wensday Denner	o o 6
wensday Atkines his ffee	o 10 o
wensday Scoper	o o 3

* Sir John Maynard, an eminent statesman and lawyer, prosecutor of Strafford and Laud, afterwards an opponent of Cromwell, knighted at the Restoration, d. 1690.

† Affidavit.

‡ Subpœnas.

§ Supper.

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	£ s. d.
Thursday water from Ouris* to Tempell	o o 3
Atkines for p'te of his ffee	o 5 o
Denner a Thursday	o o 5
water from the Tempell to Ouris	o o 3
scoper a Thursday	o o 8
ffriday Denner	o o 5
for p'at of Mr. Atkines ffee	o 5 o
for Eintering the order	o 3 o
water from the Tempell to Ouris	o o 3
scoper A ffriday	o o 2
Saterday	
ffor Coping of the order	o 1 o
Dener a Saterday	o o 6
water from the Tempell to Ouris	o o 3
To Mr. Spenncer for the ffee	o 3 6
ffor the horses for ffive nights	o 4 2

He was evidently, from what follows, an Overseer of the Poor in 1659.

The Accountes of the money Layed out by me in
the yeare 1659 for the Relifs of the poore.

	£ s. d.
It. for a warrant for Jo. Mearsh to Apeere before the Justeses at Darking	o o 6
It. for consernieing the porre Booke	o o 6
It. for another warrant for Jo. Marsh	o o 6
It. for Exspences at gellford concserning Anthoney Weller	o 1 2
It. paid to James hilles at 3 seuerall Times . . .	o 15 o
It. payed to the widdo Lee at tow? sceuerall Times	o 7 6
It. paide to Edw. Gardyner for worke dun About the Almeshouse	o 2 6

* The Church of St. Mary Overy, at the foot of London Bridge, a regular landing for boats, was no doubt established there. He probably lodged during the early part of the week at one of the numerous famous inns of Southwark.

	£ s. d.
It. payed to Jo. Wonham for 1 dayes worke About the Almeshous	0 1 4
It. paid to the widd. Lee	0 1 0
It. paid to the widd. Lee	0 1 0
It. Tho. Dandey had 1 bu. of wheat	0 7 0
It. mathew mesbrucke had 1 bu. of wheat	0 7 0
It. John Democke had at one Tyme	0 5 0
It. Rec. of Tho. Wonham	1 0 0
It. desporst to James Hill	0 5 0
It. to The widdo Lee	0 5 0
It. Rec. of Tho. Wonham	2 4 10
It. Jo. Wonham douth Oue unto me for Coffein (?) Borde	0 10 0

In the year 1661 "The Accounte Milles and Met-
chenors Work in the Roles" bears the signature of
"Thomas Smallpeec."

Whether the following account at the end of the
book, without date, but in the same hand as that at
the beginning, has reference to the same Chancery
suit already mentioned or not, remains uncertain:

The accountes of the money which I have Desporst in
Mr. Bungen's behalfe and my owne:—

	£ s. d.
It. laied out for Will Wheller his going to Lundon	0 3 0
It. for the Bayles feese and the Eterney his feese	0 8 0
It. for a line of wealle	0 2 0
It. to Mr. Thorp his Mann	0 10 0
It. to Mr. [blank]	1 0 0
It. to Will Wheeler	0 2 0
It. to Mr. Morgen	0 9 4
It. to Mr. Beerd	0 5 0
It. to Mr. Melles	0 4 0
It. for the horses	0 1 10
It. for beere to Mr. Aborne	0 0 6
It. to Mr. Aborne	1 0 0
It. going over the water	0 0 6
It. at the Einn	0 0 3
It. at one time alone for going over the water . .	0 0 3

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	£ s. d.
It. at one time for a horse hier	0 5 0
It. at one time a dennor for Mr. Shockford and Mr. Aborne	0 1 0
It. at the same time for Mr. Thomas Maninges Draft	0 0 4

Anno. Dom. 1662.

The Accountes of the work Dunn in the Rowles as
concering the Browke.

	£ s. d.
It. paid to Will. ffeild for heuing of 8lode of Tember	
It. paid to Thomas Whight for Scayinge in the Rowles	1 0 0

This is the last entry. The day and month are not given. It seems fair to conjecture that increasing infirmities compelled him to resign the management of his affairs, and, with them, of his accounts, into the hands of a younger and more vigorous man, perhaps his successor in the property and in the possession of the Account-Book. We gather sufficient from entries which have been quoted to conclude that Richard Bax was a very good specimen of a thrifty and industrious yeoman of the seventeenth century, looking well after the prosperity of his farms, the successful disposal of his stock, keeping his accounts with regularity and diligence, and discharging conscientiously his duties as Overseer of the Poor, and in everything maintaining the principles of a Friend—rigid truthfulness in his dealings with his fellow-men, and a simplicity in manners and dress from which the majority of the nation had at that period of our history so grievously departed.

There can scarcely be a doubt that one of the earliest records of burial in the Pleystowe register of the Society of Friends has reference to the first owner of the Account-Book. It is as follows:—"Richard Bax Sen^r. of
^{mo}
Capel, buried 30. 3: 1665 at Charlwood."

XIX

A VISIT TO AMERICA IN 1774

BY L. TOULMIN SMITH.

THE following letter, written by a merchant of Birmingham staying in America, more than a century ago, to his uncle, the Rev. Job Orton (a well-known divine at Shrewsbury), will be of considerable interest to those who know the Boston and Philadelphia of the present, while it carries us right into the time of great national and historic importance to both England and America. Nothing can illustrate more strikingly the contrast, and the strides made by the American people in so short a time, than an unconscious narrative like this, which, though truly English, is written by a not unfriendly hand. The great Boston "tea-party," herein referred to, took place on 16th December, 1773; the port of Boston was closed in April, 1774; Congress for the States first met in September, 1774, in Philadelphia, only a few days before the date of this letter. Boston was evacuated by the British army in March, 1776, while the evacuation of New York by the British did not take place till the 24th November, 1783, a centenary which was celebrated in America in 1883 (see *Harper's Magazine* for November of that year). The letter is in possession of my relative, a descendant of the writer, by whose permission it is now printed:

NEW YORK, Sept. 7th, 1774.

DEAR AND HONOURED SIR,—

About two months ago I wrote to you from this place, since which I have not received any letter from you; by the accounts I have had from home I was

informed you had been but poorly, which I hope I need not tell you gave me much concern, but I trust before you receive this, through the mercy of that great Being, of whose kind providence I have constant instances in having a competent share of health continu'd to me, and in being preserved from numberless accidents in travelling in this (to me) new world, that you are as much recovered as, in the shattered state your nerves have been in this long time past, can be expected.

I set out from New York about the 12th of June, in a very good stage-coach which goes constantly twice a week to Philadelphia in two days; the distance is about ninety miles; you pass through three or four pretty good towns which lye on the road; the country all the way is cleared and better cultivated than I expected, particularly the Jerseys; but I have not as yet seen any land which appears to me (exempt from the cultivation) to be so good as our land in England; but I am told farther up the country that the land is much richer and thicker settled than any I have yet passed through. Prince Town is about the half-way; the Colledge makes a very respectable appearance, and is, I am told, in a very flourishing state, but being in a stage coach I had not time to stop. I shall be going that way again, and then will take an opportunity of going over it. Philadelphia is certainly the finest city upon the continent; the regularity observed in its streets and buildings have made it famous all over the world: there are, I believe, some finer houses in New York than Philadelphia, but upon the whole the latter is certainly better built, though I cannot say it quite answered my expectations, for the sameness of the streets, owing to their regularity, is in some degree disagreeable, and the pent-houses they have over their doors and lower windows have an unpleasing appearance. As Mr. R—, my principal friend there, is a Quaker, I was introduced chiefly amongst them, and a

most respectable people in fortune and character they undoubtedly are; their politics too I think are cooler than many others, so that I hope they will be able by their moderation to be a powerfull ballance against the fiery spirits which blaze in every part of America. I take it the chief power of the city is in their hands, and by the goodness of their public buildings, the regularity observed in their streets and markets, in short from the whole police of their city, which is superior to that of any other town on the continent, they prove themselves well worthy the power they are possessed of. There are great numbers of places of worship; their churches are handsome, and supplied by those whom they call orators, but they aimed too much at it to appear to me in that character. The Presbyterian Meeting House I was at was but an indifferent building, and I cannot say I admired their minister; he preached warm politics, that was enough to disgust me; I do not remember much of his subjects, but I am very certain he did not say one word to exhort them to turn their swords into ploughshares.

The increase of this city considering the time it has been built is astonishing, and they proceed in erecting new houses faster than ever. The great number of industrious, sober Germans who have settled chiefly in Pensilvania have been of vast service to that province and its capital. The mild and honest manner in which this part of the continent was first settled gives me a higher opinion of its inhabitants than of those of many other parts, and that they deserve the success they have been crowned with. The practise of Physick in many places of America, by what I can learn, is by no means in a despicable situation, particularly in Philadelphia, where there are lectures given by the physicians who practise in the city which would not disgrace Edinburgh.

Mr. R—— (who remembers and spoke of you in very

respectable terms) was very obliging to me, as were all his family; his father is a very sensible, agreeable old gentleman. I believe he has acquired a very considerable property, and lives very handsomely, either in town, or at his country house on the banks of the Delaware, one of the best I have seen in America. My business at Philadelphia went on very disagreeably and slowly, which kept me there more than a month, and I was detained more than a week afterwards by my friend T—— R——, who came from Maryland on purpose to see me. Though his disposition and mine are, I believe, very different, yet he is a young man for whom I had always a great respect; judge then, sir, whether I was not rejoiced at the sight of an old friend and townsman so far from home. He married, about three month before, a Quaker lady, whose father lived near Mr. R——'s Iron Works; he seems much pleased with her, and I heartily wish him happiness; it shall not be for want of my persuasion that he does not return to England, for after all their boasting about America I should not like either to live myself or leave my posterity on this side the Atlantic.

I returned to New York about the middle of July, and after staying there about a fortnight, I went on board a sloop the * of August bound for Newport, in Rhode Island, on my way to Boston. The distance is about 200 miles, and the voyage, which lies up the sound between Long Island and the continent, is often performed [in] from eighteen to thirty hours' time. We had a tedious passage, and did not land till the fourth day in the evening. The appearance of the country on this island, it is said, is more like England than any other part of the continent; as, likewise, the climate is really very pleasant and tolerably cool.

* The date is left blank in the original, but a reference to the end of the letter, and to the date of it, 7th September, shows that this must have been about 7th August.

Newport is not a very small town, but it is ill-built, and the people are not remarkable either for their honesty or riches. There is one very long strait street in it, which, were it broader and had better houses in it, would make a very handsome appearance. I spent one day there in driving about the island, and the day after went on board another sloop, which took us in about five hours to Providence, thirty miles distance. This, too, is a pretty good town, and now the Boston port is shut up is likely to thrive. Five of us hired a coach the day after to take us to Boston, forty-five miles distance, where, after going through very indifferent roads, we arrived the same evening.

This always has been, and is particularly now, a very famous place. Close to the town on a common are encamped four regiments and the train of artillery; on Fort Hill, on the other side of the town, lie the regiment of Welsh Fusileers, which is just arrived from New York; at Castle William, three miles distance, and which commands the harbour, another regiment is encamped; and at Salem, the nearest port open, near which the General lives, who has two companies before his house and its environs, another sett of these red-coated gentry wait their commander's orders. Directly opposite, and not a quarter of a mile distant from the town, the Admiral, in a large fifty-gun ship, points [h]is formidable pieces in the face of these tea-destroying heroes; another man-of-war, with two or three frigates and their attendants of schooners, cutters, etc., together with twelve or fifteen transports, all properly stationed, cordially and most effectually join in blocking up this once flourishing port. There is no kind of disturbance there at present; as I made two or three excursions into the country whilst I was there, I had not an opportunity of seeing much of the inhabitants; indeed, in the country I happened to fall into, I heard as respectable mention of Great Britain and her

government as in any other part of America. It is certain many of the disturbances have been carried on by the mob, instigated by misguided and interested persons.

They have several good meeting-houses in Boston, one lately built very elegant; indeed their places of worship in general in America are much better than I expected—I had almost said too good. I wonder they have, any of them, the assurance to come and beg money in England. The Colledge at Cambridge, particularly the Library, is very handsome. They have one at Providence and others in the country, to say nothing of those in the principal cities; and I have not seen one but what makes as good or better figure than that at Warrington.

What shall I say as to politics? Though hitherto you know, sir, I was always an anti-ministerial man; yet, whether it is the spirit of English contradiction, or my dislike to hear the mother-country spoke of in the cavalier manner I frequently do, I sometimes think that the ministry (though I am far from approving all their measures) are in many respects right, and that the American grievances are some of them ideal. In short, in the cities they are become so rich, viz., in comparison of their original, and self-sufficient, and in the country so licentious, that some alterations were absolutely necessary; and whether it was my Lord North, or any other minister who began it, I should imagine that the present plan of government between Great Brittain and her colonies could not long have subsisted in its present state, and that some alterations were absolutely necessary. Out of disorder sometimes proceeds order, and though appearances are at present very unfavourable, I heartily wish some measures, agreeable and easy to both parties, may be adopted, which may render the union more firm and lasting. But to foresee how it can be settled requires more

sagacity than I can boast of. For though there are many friends to Government, and still more cool men who wish a peaceful re-union, yet these latter object to many measures of Great Brittain; and then as to the Sons of Liberty, who are I believe the most numerous, they are so hot that they will be held in no bounds, hear no reasons, nor speak with any decency,—in short, they are mad.

As a New-meeting Dissenter, I cannot say but my ideas on many subjects are different from the Presbyterians here; but were some of the gentlemen I have heard to preach at a certain meeting-house, I think they would collect such an audience as would make the place suity warm even in the coldest day in winter.

I set out from Boston last Friday sennight in the morning, got to Providence that day, and the next was about seven hours in going by water to Newport, where I was detained by contrary winds till Wednesday. We sailed in the afternoon, and after a tedious passage arrived here Sunday morning, so that my expedition took me up just a month. There are several good meeting-houses on the road between Providence and Boston; they are mostly built of wood, but both in the outside and inside they make a much better appearance than any of our country meeting-houses.

Musketoes and bugs are the plagues of this country; here I am free from the latter, but in New England they swarm beyond description. If the country was half as well settled with men as bugs, they would soon overwhelm all His Majesty's troops. The first settlers might, perhaps, find them there; if not, I cannot but think it was carrying their fondness for liberty rather to an extreme not to leave even these household companions in slavery. In the Town Hall there is some tolerable pictures of their present Majesties, the two former kings, and some of their old Governors and first settlers; but the most extraordinary one I saw,

and the last I should have expected to see there, was what appeared to me a tolerable good full-length portrait of Charles II. How he came there, or why he has not long since been tarred and feathered, I could not learn.

Before I left Boston, though all was quiet in the town, there were accounts of some disturbances in the country, such as pulling the judges, according to the new form, off their bench and refusing to let them sit, firing into the house of one [of] the new-made counsellors, and going in large mobs to almost all of them, and either driving them into the town for shelter, or forcing them to declare they would not serve. Yesterday the people were much alarmed here with an express which came from Newhaven, informing they had just heard by another express from Boston that the Admiral from his ship and the artillery on shore had been firing on the town all night, and that it still continued; that in consequence the people there were all arming to go to the assistance of the townsmen. What gave rise to this, was said, was this: General Gage had ordered detachments of soldiers to seize the powder in a town some distance from Boston, whether the provincial powder or some secreted by the people I am not certain, which they did; but being opposed by the inhabitants in the carrying it away, they had fired, killed six and wounded others, and that this brought on the general uproar. Many people thought a great part of this account false, and, as no express has since arrived, it is probable it is so. It is possible that, the general having given orders to seize the powder, some skirmish may have arisen between the inhabitants and soldiers, from which this oriental tale has been fabricated.

Since writing the above there is a ship arrived which left Boston last Sunday, by which we learn that the whole is false, and that there is no foundation for any

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part of the story. On the first account coming here there was an express sent off for Philadelphia, and I suppose they would forward it still farther southward; so that if one may judge by its acquisitions in the first 260 miles, by the time it goes to South Carolina it will be a lamentable tale indeed: it shows the readiness of the inhabitants to lay hold of everything which may raise a disturbance.

The whole continent have their eyes fixed now on the Congress from the different counties and towns, which was to meet at Philadelphia the first of this month. Their determinations are as yet quite uncertain, and I should suppose will not be made known for some time. It is not improbable that a non-importation, together with petitions and remonstrances, may be agreed upon, but I cannot think they will come into a non-exportation which some talk of, as it will certainly, according to my judgment, affect themselves more than it will either Great Britain or the West Indies.

I shall stay here about ten days longer; then I shall go to Philadelphia, where I shall stay about a fortnight, and from thence set out for Virginia. How long the journey will take me I cannot tell. T—— R—— will go with me. I expect I shall spend the winter one part at Philadelphia, the other at this place. I hope, sir, whilst I am forming these schemes, I am not unmindfull of the uncertainty of all human affairs, and that it is under the protection of a good Providence, alone giving success to our honest endeavours, that this or another undertaking can be performed with safety or advantage. My time will not permit me to enlarge more. I desire my best respects to Mrs. H——, Dr. J——'s family, compliments to all friends, and subscribe myself with much gratitude and affection,

Your obliged and dutiful nephew,
B—— S——.

